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# The Cambridge Handbooks of Liturgical Study

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## THE ANCIENT CHURCH ORDERS

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# THE ANCIENT CHURCH ORDERS

BY

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## NOTE BY THE EDITORS

THE purpose of *The Cambridge Handbooks of Liturgical Study* is to offer to students who are entering upon the study of Liturgies such help as may enable them to proceed with advantage to the use of the larger and more technical works upon the subject which are already at their service.

The series will treat of the history and rationale of the several rites and ceremonies which have found a place in Christian worship, with some account of the ancient liturgical books in which they are contained. Attention will also be called to the importance which liturgical forms possess as expressions of Christian conceptions and beliefs.

Each volume will provide a list or lists of the books in which the study of its subject may be pursued, and will contain a Table of Contents and an Index.

The editors do not hold themselves responsible for the opinions expressed in the several volumes of the series. While offering suggestions on points of detail, they have left each writer to treat his subject in his own way, regard being had to the general plan and purpose of the series.

H. B. S.

J. H. S.



## PREFACE

I HAVE endeavoured in the following pages to do for the whole series of Church Orders what was done in greater detail for the *Testament of our Lord* in the edition of that work published by Professor Cooper and myself in 1902. The Church Orders are an interesting series of manuals, and it may be useful to make them better known to the modern reader, and to explain the extent to which they throw light on early Christian worship and customs.

It will perhaps not be superfluous to give a word of caution to those entering on a study of the subject. There must always be some uncertainty in the determination of dates of documents when we have only internal evidence to guide us. The results arrived at in this volume must, therefore, be considered as only tentative. And I may explain that I have taken a different view of the date of the *Canons of Hippolytus* from that which I took in the English edition of the *Testament*. As in that edition

it was held that the former was not a direct ancestor of the latter work, the date of the *Canons* was not closely considered. Funk's argument in *Das Testament unseres Herrn und die verwandten Schriften*, which appeared after the English edition of the *Testament* was written, but before it was published, has led me to some modification of view, though I have not been able to accept his theory of the dates of the Church Orders as a whole. A summary of the results which have been tentatively reached may be seen at the end of Chapter IX.

Another caution which must always be borne in mind is that many of the Church Orders are only known to us in translations. It is always possible that if they were discovered in their original language, some inferences which we draw from the translations might require modification.

A. J. M.

*Easter, 1910.*

# CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LITERATURE. The pseudonymous form. Antiquarianisms. Experimental character. The compilations . . . .	1
II.	CONTENTS OF THE CANONS OF HIPPOLYTUS AND COGNATE CHURCH ORDERS (Egyptian and Ethiopic Church Orders, Verona Fragments part 3, Testament of our Lord, Apostolic Constitutions bk viii. [in five forms], Appendix to Arabic Didascalia)	12
III.	CONTENTS OF THE OTHER CHURCH ORDERS, ETC. (Didache, Apostolic Church Order, Didascalia, Apostolic Constitutions bks i.-vii., Ethiopic Didascalia; Sarapion, Pilgrimage of 'Silvia,' Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechetical Lectures, Apostolic Canons, Edessene Canons) . . . .	25
IV.	CHURCH BUILDINGS AND WORSHIP. The Eucharist. The Liturgies. Days for the Eucharist. Daily prayers. The Agape and Funeral Commemorations. Clerical Vestments . . . . .	35

CHAP.		PAGE
V.	THE MINISTRY AND ORDINATION. Bishops, presbyters, deacons. Archdeacons, chor-episcopi, metropolitans. Ordination of a bishop. Minor Orders. Widows and deaconesses. Confessors. Promotion. Clerical marriage. Discipline . . .	67
VI.	BAPTISM AND CONFIRMATION. Baptismal ceremonies. Creed. Immersion, Anointing, Imposition of hands. Baptismal Eucharist. Baptism by deacons and women. Teaching about the Resurrection . . . . .	96
VII.	DOCTRINE IN THE CHURCH ORDERS. Doxologies to the prayers . . . . .	112
VIII.	FESTIVALS, FASTS, AND SEASONS. The festal cycle. Date of Easter. 'Pascha and Pentecost.' Fasts . . . . .	128
IX.	RELATIVE POSITION AND DATES OF THE CHURCH ORDERS. Hypothesis of a lost Original. Summary . . . . .	141
	BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	174
	INDEX . . . . .	177

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## PLATES

Canons of Hippolytus . . . . .	<i>to face p. 12</i>
Syriac Translation of the Didascalia . . . . .	<i>to face p. 30</i>

## ABBREVIATIONS

### I. THE CHURCH ORDERS, ETC.

AC	Apostolic Constitutions
ApCan	Apostolic Canons
ApCO	Apostolic Church Order
ArD	Arabic Didascalia
CH	Canons of Hippolytus
ConstH	Constitutions through Hippolytus
D	Didache
Didasc	Didascalia
EdCan	Edessene Canons
EgCO	Egyptian Church Order
EthCO	Ethiopic Church Order
EthD	Ethiopic Didascalia
EthS	Ethiopic Statutes
H	Hauler's Latin Verona Fragments [H <sub>1</sub> =part 1, H <sub>2</sub> =part 2, H <sub>3</sub> =part 3]
Sar	Sarapion's Sacramentary
SEC	Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons (Egyptian Hepta- teuch)
Test	Testament of our Lord

[app=Appendix; syr=Syriac; sah=Sahidic;  
arab=Arabic; eth=Ethiopic; boh=Bohairic; ||=parallel]

The references in AC are to Funk's sections; the superior numbers denote the subsections.

The Roman figures in CH give the Arabic chapters, the Arabic figures Achelis' sections.



## II. LITERATURE

<i>ANCL</i>	<i>Ante-Nicene Christian Library</i>
<i>CL</i>	Cyril of Jerusalem's <i>Catechetical Lectures</i>
<i>DCA</i>	Smith and Cheetham's <i>Dictionary of Christian Antiquities</i>
<i>DCB</i>	Smith and Wace's <i>Dictionary of Christian Biography</i>
<i>DCG</i>	Hastings' <i>Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels</i>
<i>DidCA</i>	Funk's <i>Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum</i>
<i>ERE</i>	Hastings' <i>Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics</i>
<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<i>JThSt</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>LEW</i>	Brightman's <i>Liturgies Eastern and Western</i>
<i>MG</i>	Wordsworth's <i>Ministry of Grace</i>
<i>SApC</i>	Harnack's <i>Sources of the Apostolic Canons</i> [Apostolic Church Order], English Translation
<i>TUH</i>	Funk's <i>Das Testament unseres Herrn und die verwandten Schriften</i>

## CHAPTER I

### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LITERATURE

1. The object of the present book is to give a description of certain early Christian manuals of instruction and worship which are conveniently called Church Orders. Many of them have been unknown, at least in modern times, until quite lately. Others have been known, but strangely neglected. We are now, however, in a position to estimate the value of the attempts which were made in early ages to provide the clergy and the faithful with liturgical and hortatory manuals, before the era of the Great Liturgies began. While considerable doubt exists as to the exact date and the relation to one another of several of the documents, yet we know enough to make for ourselves a general picture of the worship of the Church in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The Church Orders which, so far, are known to us, may be divided into several classes. Those of the first class are descended from one original, agreeing together largely, not only in topics treated, but even

in the order of treatment and in the wording and phraseology; yet exhibiting the greatest freedom in the handling of material. The same may be said of the second and fourth classes. The Church Orders treated of in this volume are the following :

- (a) Canons of Hippolytus.  
     Egyptian Church Order\*.  
     Ethiopic Church Order\*.  
     Hauler's Verona Latin Fragments, part 3\*.  
     Testament of our Lord.  
     Apostolic Constitutions viii. 3—46.  
     Constitutions through Hippolytus.  
     Appendix to Arabic (and Ethiopic?) Didascalia.  
     Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons 64—78.  
     Syriac Octateuch, books iv.—vii.  
     Ethiopic Statutes 53—72.
- (b) Didache, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.  
     Apostolic Church Order.  
     Apostolic Constitutions vii. 1—32.
- (c) Apostolic Constitutions vii. 33—viii. 2.
- (d) Didascalia, early forms (Syriac, Latin).  
     Apostolic Constitutions i.—vi.  
     Ethiopic Didascalia.  
     Arabic Didascalia.

We shall also have occasion to examine the Sacramentary of Sarapion (or Serapion), and some other illustrative literature.

\* These three works are joined together by Funk under the name 'Egyptian Church Order.' But as they exhibit considerable differences in detail it will be convenient to keep them separate.

It is proposed in the following pages to describe the contents of these manuals, and then to derive from them sketches of various features of Church life; the Church buildings, the daily prayers, the eucharistic liturgy, the Agape, the ministry and ordination, the baptismal customs, the fasts and festivals; also to consider the doctrinal complexion of the various books; and so to arrive at a determination of their date.

2. It will be well, however, first to mention some general characteristics of the literature, as these characteristics greatly affect our estimate of its value. We are at once struck, in most of these manuals, with their **pseudonymous form**. Many of them profess to have been written, or handed down, by the Twelve Apostles. In the earliest of them, the Didache, this fiction only extends to the title: 'The teaching of the Lord to the Gentiles by the Twelve Apostles.' Others are much more thoroughgoing. In ApCO the pretence runs all through the book. The Apostles are enumerated, and the precepts are ascribed each to one Apostle by name. All forms of Didasc keep up the fiction (*e.g.* H<sub>1</sub> pp. 19, 59 f., 63, 72). So does AC in all its books (*e.g.* ii. 39<sup>1</sup>—cf. || Didasc, EthD; iv. 7<sup>2</sup>—cf. || EthD, not Didasc; vii. 2<sup>12</sup>, 11, 22<sup>1</sup>, not || D); in bk. viii. it divides the precepts among the Apostles, including Paul and James the Lord's brother, whom it names as being present with the Twelve, together with 'the rest of the presbyters and the seven deacons' (viii. 4<sup>1</sup>). Indeed in AC the pretence is emphasised. It is

found in EdCan, which is called in one MS 'The doctrine of the Apostles through Addai' and which has a subscription mentioning Addai. In EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>, the fiction is only found in a bare reference to the 'apostolic tradition' (H p. 121), unless the title of EgCO found in SEC (Egyptian Heptateuch) is part of this manual, and is not rather due to the compiler of the Heptateuch. In this title the work is said to have been given 'by the hands of Clement.' The reference to Clement is found elsewhere (AC title and viii. 46<sup>13</sup>, ApCan 85, Test titles and subscriptions to both books, ArD preface, EthD preface). Clement is also mentioned, but not as part of the fictitious setting, in AC vi. 9<sup>1</sup>, 18<sup>11</sup>, vii. 46<sup>6</sup>, viii. 10<sup>7</sup>. In Test the pretence is pushed to its utmost limit. This manual professes to be the legacy left by our Saviour to his Apostles before the Ascension, and to give his own words and commands as to the government of the Church through Thomas, Matthew and John (i. preface) and Clement (title etc.). The ascription to our Lord is removed in the derived ArD-app. The only manual which may be thought to be quite free from the pseudonymous form is CH, and even there it seems probable that the title is an instance of it.

It is of some importance for us to consider the meaning of this pretence, and the closely related question of **antiquarianisms**. If the intention of the authors was to pass the manuals off as being several hundred years older than they really were, they would naturally try to introduce as many

antiquarianisms as possible, and thus the books would give us no true picture of the times of the writers. But three considerations make us pause before taking this view. (*a*) One is the extraordinarily widespread prevalence of the habit. Besides the literature in question we find a large number of Jewish and Christian works affected by it. This would lead us to consider the ascription of books to older writers as a fashion of the day—it extended over a long period—and as a dramatic fiction, rather than as what we understand in the present day by the phrase ‘a literary forgery.’ Instances of such a ‘dramatic fiction’ will at once occur to us, in the canonical books of the Bible (*e.g.* Deuteronomy and Ecclesiastes), in the Apocrypha (*e.g.* the Wisdom of Solomon), in the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, or among the Gnostic sects (*e.g.* the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies). The fashion has even remained to the present day when we speak of the ‘Apostles’ Creed,’ or when we read in the eighth Anglican Article of Religion of ‘Athanasius’s Creed.’ (*b*) Another consideration is the want of motive. These Church Orders were not literary bombshells bursting from a supposed antiquity on a circle of learned men; but by their very nature were intended for the use of the people themselves. Anything obviously out of date would defeat the object of the book. And though the individual writers have, as we shall see, each their own doctrinal standpoint, yet there is no very clear ‘tendency’ discernible in at any rate the great majority of the books.

(c) The thinness of the disguise is another reason for doubting whether a serious forgery was intended. In some cases the merest tyro could detect cases of anachronism. No serious forger would be so careless. (See *e.g.* for Test, Cooper-Maclean, p. 27.)

With the moral right or wrong of this custom we need not concern ourselves. But the arguments given above will lead us to discard the idea that the authors introduced antique features for the sake of deception.

This however does not exhaust the question of antiquarianisms in the literature under consideration. The various writers used, it is clear, older material, belonging to an age in some cases considerably earlier than their own. In the older material many customs would be described which had become obsolete when the original was adapted. Did the adapters leave these features of the older material, though they did not apply to their own time? The answer seems to be that old features were allowed to remain, *provided that they did not contradict the usage of the compilers' own time*. An old phrase would be left, but perhaps given another turn or another meaning. If however the old features were so contradictory of present usage that they would only produce confusion in the reader, then they were modified or omitted. The best way of considering the method of treatment of old material is to compare (as in Funk *DidCA* vol. i.) D and AC vii. 1—32, or Didasc and AC i.—vi., when the above remarks will, it is believed, be fully justified. As a concrete example, we may consider



the references to persecution. Few will doubt that at least the greater part of the literature is post-Nicene; yet we find many such references, both in the liturgical forms and in the canonical rules and exhortations. These passages in the post-Nicene books have been taken from ante-Nicene sources, but are retained and might be applied by the reader either to persecutions from other Christians, or to a possible recrudescence of heathen opposition. But it must be said that the language used rather points to an era when the time of persecution had not been very long a thing of the past (see also below, pp. 28, 31 f.).

3. Another preliminary remark may be made, on the **experimental nature of the liturgical forms** in these Church Orders. Liturgies were only just beginning to crystallise into fixed shapes. The writers of these manuals saw no harm in dealing with the works of their predecessors very freely. For Eucharist, Baptism, Ordination one general outline runs through them all and was well established. But the words with which the outline was clothed were still in a fluid condition. The forms were in their nature experimental; some of them did not stand the test of usage; some contained not quite advisable phraseology; all were on their probation; and their chief interest lies in their exhibiting to us the steps by which the Great Liturgies, their successors, were gradually built up.

4. Before we proceed to consider the Church Orders in detail, it will be desirable to mention the **compilations** in which some of them are embedded,

and to explain where they may be found. We will later on consider the question whether any or all of these works are *mere* compilations, or whether their authors were also the authors of any of the Church Orders contained in them. The compilations are as follows :

SAHIDIC ECCLESIASTICAL CANONS, or EGYPTIAN HEPTATEUCH (bk. i. [§§ 1—30] = ApCO ; bk. ii. [§§ 31—62] = EgCO ; bks. iii. [63], iv. [64—71*a*], v. [71*b*—73, 75*b*—78], vi. [74, 75*a*], parallel to AC viii. ; bk. vii. = ApCan). The books are here given as in the Bohairic (Tattam), the sections as in the Sahidic (Horner) ; the Bohairic sections are not quite the same as the Sahidic.

SYRIAN OCTATEUCH (bks. i., ii. = Test ; bk. iii. = ApCO ; bks. iv.—vii., parallel to AC viii. ; bk. viii. = ApCan).

ETHIOPIA STATUTES (1—21 = ApCO ; 22—48 = EthCO ; 49—72, parallel to AC viii.).

HAULER'S VERONA LATIN FRAGMENTS (i.—lxiv. [part 1, H<sub>1</sub>] = fragments of Didasc ; lxv.—lxvii. *a* [part 2, H<sub>2</sub>] = fragments of ApCO ; lxvii. *b*—lxxx. [part 3, H<sub>3</sub>] = fragments of a Church Order very like EthCO).

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS (bks. i.—vi. = Didasc largely interpolated ; vii. 1—32 = D interpolated ; vii. 33—end, liturgical matter, source uncertain ; viii. 1, 2 a tract 'Of Charismata' ; viii. 3—end, a Church Order parallel to CH. In some MSS, ApCan follows, almost as a ninth book [in Funk's edition = AC viii. 47 f.]).

Some of these compilations have only become known in modern times; but AC has been known since the Reformation. An epitome in Latin was published in 1546 by Carolus Capellus, and the full Greek text in 1563 by Turrianus (*DCA* i. 119). Many modern editions of the Greek have appeared; especially we may notice those of Ueltzen 1853, Lagarde 1862, and Funk (*DidCA*) 1905. This last contains also D, ApCan, Didasc (in a Latin translation), ConstH, ArD-app, a conflation of EgCO, EthCO, and H<sub>3</sub>, also Sar, and some minor matter. We need not adhere to Funk's theory of the dates of the documents to benefit by the admirable way in which the materials are displayed. An English translation of AC is somewhat anachronistically included in *ANCL*. The eighty-five Apostolic Canons may also be seen in Hefele's *Councils* vol. i.—Of other manuals, SEC was published, in Bohairic with English translation, by Tattam in 1848; the Sahidic and Arabic texts of it, with English translations, have lately been published (1904) by Horner in the same volume as EthS, which we are now fortunate enough to have entire with full Ethiopic text and English translation. Hitherto we had only known the Ethiopic in part, through a book by Job Ludolf (Leutholf), entitled *Ad suam historiam aethiopicam commentarius* (1691). Lagarde gives SEC in *Aegyptiaca*.—Of the Syrian Octateuch only three books have been published. The first two (Test) were first published by Rahmani in 1899. The third book (ApCO) was published in Syriac and English by Arendzen in 1901 (*JThSt* iii. 59 ff.); this is the most convenient form of ApCO, though it may also be seen elsewhere (see below). As it has been preserved in several languages, it has often been edited, first by Bickell in Greek from a MS at Vienna, 1843. Bickell invented the useful name 'Apostolic Church Order.' The Verona fragments have been published, from a palimpsest at Verona, by Hauler in 1900.

It will be convenient to mention here the books in

which the individual Church Orders may most conveniently be seen. The Didache was discovered at Constantinople by Bryennius and first published by him in 1883. It may be conveniently read in Lightfoot and Harmer's *Apost. Fathers*, compendious edition, in Greek and English. For CH we have several editions. These canons were first published in Arabic with a Latin translation by De Haneberg (1870); they may most conveniently be seen in Latin, with parallels from other manuals, and commentary, in Achelis' edition published in 1891, *Die Canones Hippolyti* ('Texte und Untersuch.' vi. 4). Riedel published a German version in 1900. For EdCan see *ANCL* vol. xx. ('Syriac Documents,' p. 35 ff.). For Test in Syriac and Latin see Rahmani, *Testamentum Domini nostri*, 1899, and for an English version Cooper-Maclean, *The Testament of our Lord*, 1902. For EgCO in Bohairic and English see Tattam, *The Apost. Const....in Coptic*, 1848, p. 31; translation\* of the Sahidic, Horner, *Statutes of the Apostles*, 1904, p. 306; in Arabic and English, Horner, pp. 95, 244. For EthCO in Ethiopic and English see Horner, pp. 10, 138. For Didasc in a Latin translation see Funk, *DidCA* i. (in parallel columns with AC i.—vi.); in Syriac and English, Mrs Gibson, *Horae Semiticae* i, ii; in Latin (fragments), Hauler, *Didascaliae Apostolorum Fragmenta Veron. Lat.* 1900, pp. 1—90. For H<sub>3</sub> see Hauler, pp. 101—121 (Latin fragments). For ApCO in Syriac and English see Arendzen as above; in Bohairic and English, Tattam, p. 1; in Ethiopic and English, Horner, pp. 1, 127; translation\* of Sahidic, *ib.* p. 295; in Arabic and English, *ib.* pp. 89, 233; in Latin (fragments), Hauler, pp. 92—106; in Greek, Lagarde, *Reliquiae juris ecclesiae antiquissimae*, 1856. For ConstH see Funk, *DidCA* ii. 72—96. For AC see above. For ArD (appendix, etc.) see Funk, *DidCA* ii. 120—136. EthD was first published (in Ethiopic and English) by Platt in 1834, from an Ethiopic MS found at

\* For the Sahidic text see Lagarde's *Aegyptiaca*.

Jerusalem. Sarapion's sacramentary was discovered in the Laura Monastery of Mount Athos, and first published by Wobbermin at Leipzig in 1899. The Greek text, with notes by Brightman, may be conveniently seen in *JThSt* i. 88 ff., 247 ff.; an English translation with Introduction has been edited by Bp J. Wordsworth (S.P.C.K., 1899).

The student may also consult discussions on one or other of these Church Orders in Brightman *LEW* (which gives the liturgical part of AC with an elaborate discussion of problems of authorship), Funk *TUH*, and Wordsworth *MG*. The *Pilgrimage of 'Silvia' or of 'Etheria,'* which was discovered at Arezzo in Italy by Dr Gamurrini in 1884, and first published by him in 1887—88, may be most conveniently read (in Latin) in the Appendix to Duchesne's *Origines du culte chrétien* (Eng. tr. *Christian Worship; its origin and evolution*, S.P.C.K., 1903).

## CHAPTER II

### CONTENTS OF THE CANONS OF HIPPOLYTUS AND COGNATE CHURCH ORDERS

Taking a general view of the whole of this series of books we may summarise the contents thus. Rules are given for the election and ordination of a bishop, and for the first Liturgy celebrated by him, with or without forms of prayer ; for the ordination of presbyters and deacons, for the appointment of minor orders, widows and deaconesses, and with regard to confessors and gifts of healing ; for the reception of converts, and their preparation, baptism, confirmation and first communion ; for the Agape ; for hours of prayer, for feasts and fasts, and for various minor Church observances.

It will probably bring the scope of the books most conveniently before the reader if the contents of seven of them are set forth in tabular form. The arrangement of EgCO has been adopted as a basis, as being most in accordance with that of other manuals. Achelis has rearranged CH on this basis, on the supposition that in course of time and of translation

كل شعبه بلا امراض وتخله محسودا بالصالح من كل حده وتقبل صلواته وقرابينه  
 التي ترفعها لك فها اولادك ويكون لك راحة ذكياه وتعطيه يا ربنا اسقيه  
 وروحاً حياً وسلطاناً لغفران الذنوب. وتعطيه قوة ان يحل كل يالم ظلم  
 الشياطين ويسقي الاعلاء وترضخ لبشر تحت قدميه شريعاً يسيدنا يسوع  
 المسيح هذا من جهته المجد لك معه والروح القدس الي ابد الابدين امين ويقول  
 كل الشعب امين وبعد هذا يلتفتوا اليه كلهم ويقولون سلام لانه يستحقه والسمعان  
 ياتي بالقرابين ويضع الذي صير استغفايداً على القربان مع القسا ويقول اوكبروس  
 ما طابنا يقول الشعب ومع روحك ويقول انا امين وسقودس فيقول  
 اخوان ابرستكيرييس فيقول واخاستيسومن هو كيريس فيقال السين  
 كادي كان الذي هو مسحق وبعد ذلك يقول الصلاة ويكمل القداس وان كان  
 راي

### Canons of Hippolytus

(Brit. Mus. Add. 7211 (Rich) fol. 200b) MS. written A.D. 1682.

The last four lines show the Preface to the Mass ('Lift up your hearts,' etc.).





into Eastern languages, the order of the sections has become dislocated. We must notice that except in one or two minor points (notably in the sections about widows, subdeacons, and readers) the order in the first five Church Orders here given is the same up to the Communion of the neophytes. After this EgCO, EthCO and H<sub>3</sub> agree in arrangement, and that of Test is nearly the same; but the order of CH is quite different. The sections on fasting, almsgiving, the Agape, firstfruits, etc. (xxxii—xxxvi) come in CH at the end, much later than in the parallels; while those on the Hours of prayer, etc. (xxv b—xxvii) come earlier. It is difficult to conceive, with Achelis, that this disarrangement is entirely due to later translators or scribes. It seems much more probable that the Compiler, who added several new sections to his source—in particular those dealing with married and travelling presbyters, married women, fasts, the Paschal Vigil, the computation of Easter, and vestures—at the same time altered the order of his source with regard to the minor regulations in the latter part of the book.

In this table the contents of CH are given as we have them; the numbers in the first column are those of Haneberg; the question of interpolations in CH will be considered later. The numbers in the second column are the sections of SEC-sah; those of EthS being added in brackets.

i. CONTENTS OF THE CANONS OF HIPPOLYTUS, EGYPTIAN AND  
TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD, APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS,

CH.

i. Preface, independent.

ii, iii a. Election and Consecration of bishop (form given). Liturgy celebrated by new bishop referred to, but only opening of Anaphora (Salutation and Sursum Corda) given.

iii b. Blessing of oil and first-fruits (no form given), ending with Gloria Patri.

iv. Ordination of presbyter with same form as for bishops, except in the name of the episcopate and enthronement. Bishops and presbyters equal except in power of ordaining and the name of the cathedra.

v. Ordination of deacon (form given, independent). His duties; he does not belong to the presbyterate.

vi. Honorary presbyterate of Confessors (confused).

vii a. Appointment of reader and subdeacon, without laying on of hands. No form given.

EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>.

[In H<sub>3</sub> Preface, see p. 162.]

31 (22). Election and Consecration of bishop; form given in EthCO, H, not EgCO. Liturgy in EthCO, H (Anaphora), but H has not the latter part; in EgCO as CH.

In EthCO, H (not EgCO) form for blessing oil for healing (and in H cheese and olives), in Liturgy after Epiclesis. In H Gloria Patri.

32 (23). Ord. of presbyter by bishop, the presbyters touching him. Same form (not given) as for bishops in EgCO; in EthCO, H simple but separate form.

33 (24). Ord. of deacon by bishop alone (reason stated and caution added). Form given in EthCO, H, not in EgCO.

34 (25). Honorary presbyterate of Confessors (confused). [Lacuna in H until baptism.]

35, 36 (27 a, c). Reader and subdeacons as CH.

# ETHIOPIA CHURCH ORDERS, VERONA FRAGMENTS (PART 3), BOOK VIII, AND CONSTITUTIONS THROUGH HIPPOLYTUS

## TEST.

I. 1-18. Apocalyptic prelude.

19. Church buildings.

20, 21, 23. Election and Consecration of bishop, form given (long). Liturgy much developed, with some peculiar features.

22. Rules for bishops; days for Eucharist.

24, 25. Blessing of oil for healing and water (form independent).

26-28. Pro-anaphoral prayers, Lections, Mystagogia.

29. Qualification of presbyters.

30-32. Ord. of presbyter by bishop, the presbyters touching him. Separate form, based on EthCO, but much developed. Duties and daily prayers of presbyters.

33-37. Qualifications and duties of deacons. The Ectene (independent).

38. Ord. of deacon by bishop alone (reason and caution). Form given, developed from EthCO or H.

39. Honorary presbyterate of Confessors (confused).

44, 45. Subdeacons and reader (note order) appointed without laying on of hands. Short forms given.

## AC viii, CONSTH.

3. Preface (not ConstH).

4-15. Election, Consecration and Enthronement of bishop (in ConstH short form like CH, in AC much developed). In AC (not ConstH) very full Liturgy, with Deacon's Ectene and forms for dismissal of Catechumens.

29. Blessing of water and oil for healing by bishop or by presbyter in his absence; form independent. [Not in ConstH.]

16. Ord. of presbyter by bishop *in presence of the presbytery and of the deacons*. Separate form (independent except one sentence). ConstH a little shorter.

17, 18. Ord. of deacon by bishop *in presence of the whole presbytery and the deacons*. Form given, independent.

23. A Confessor to be honoured; if occasion arises, he is to be ordained bishop, priest, or deacon (note development).

21, 22. Ord. of subdeacons and readers (note order). In AC *with laying on of hands*; form given [and so ConstH of subdeacons; about Reader only one sentence, and no laying on of hands].

## CH.

ix *b*. Honour due to widows (one sentence).

vii *b*. Of Virgins, male and female.

vii *c*. Position of subdeacons and readers at prayer.

viii *a*. Gifts of healing.

viii *b*, ix *a*. Married and travelling presbyters.

x. Enquirers after the faith.

xi-xvi. Forbidden trades, etc.

xvii *a, c*. Duties of married women. Catechumenate (length not fixed). Rules for women after (?) childbirth; women pray apart; women's veils.

xvii *b*, xviii, xix *a*. Dismissal of catechumens. Women after childbirth. Martyred catechumens.

xix *b*. The Competentes; their bathing, fasting, exorcism (no form given), vigil.

xix *d*. BAPTISM. Blessing of two oils (no form given). Form of Renunciation (after which first anointing) and of Submission to God. Creed (Roman) in 3 parts, one at each immersion. Formula of baptism (repeated thrice). Anointing by presbyter after baptism.

EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>.

37 (26). Appointment of widows. (Note change of order in EthCO.) Not to be ordained.

38 (27 *b*). Of Virgins, female.

39 (27 *d*). Gifts of healing.

40 (28 *a*). Enquirers ('new men').

41 (28 *b*-30). Forbidden trades, etc.

42, 43 (31, 32). Catechumenate (3 yrs.); catechumens' prayers; kiss of peace; women pray apart; women's veils.

44 (33). Dismissal of catechumens (no prayer given). Martyred and persecuted catechumens.

45 (34). The Competentes; their bathing, fasting, exorcism (no form given), and in EgCO, their vigil.

46 (35). BAPTISM. Blessing of water and two oils (no form). Form of Renunciation (after which first anointing) and of Submission to God, latter repeated at each immersion. Creed (not Roman in EgCO, EthCO) after immersion. EthCO adds clause on Resurrection to Creed. [H fragment begins in middle of (Roman) Creed, in 3 parts, one at each immersion.] No formula of baptism given. Anointing by presbyter after baptism.

TEST.

40-43. Appointment of widows and of presbyteresses or 'widows *προκαθήμεναι*.' Form given. Their duties and prayers (at great length).

46. Of Virgins, male and female (long).  
 —  
 —

47. [Charismatic] gifts.  
 —

II. 1. Enquirers.

2. Forbidden trades, etc.

3, 4. Catechumenate (3 yrs.); catechumens' prayers; kiss of peace; women pray apart; women's veils.

5. Prayer at dismissal of catechumens. Martyred and persecuted catechumens.

6-8*a*. The Competentes, their bathing, fasting, exorcism (long form given), vigil.

8 *b*. BAPTISM. Blessing of two oils, one with form already given (in ii 7). Form of Renunciation (after which first anointing) and of Submission to God. Creed (Roman) in 3 parts, one at each immersion. No formula of baptism given. Anointing by presbyter after baptism.

AC viii, CONSTH.

25. Of widows. Not to be ordained.

19, 20. Ordination of deaconesses *with laying on of hands* (form given).

24. Of Virgins.

26. Exorcists not to be ordained.

27, 28. Functions of the clergy, etc.  
 —  
 —

32<sup>1-6</sup>. Enquirers.

32<sup>7-15</sup>. Forbidden trades, etc.

32<sup>16-19</sup>. Catechumenate (3 yrs.). Instruction of the faithful. Duty to servants.  
 —  
 —  
 —

## CH.

xix *e*. CONFIRMATION by bishop (form given) with laying on of hands, kiss of peace, *but no third anointing*.

xix *f*. COMMUNION (words of administration in both kinds given). Milk and honey partaken of.

xix *g*, xx, xxxii-xxxv. Fast before first Communion. Fasts on Wed. Fri. and the Forty Days. Of fasting and alms to the poor. Agape on Sunday. Commemoration of departed. Catechumens not to be at Agape; bread given them. Supper for widows.

xxxvi. Firstfruits (independent form, chiefly prayer for the Offerer).

xxxviii. Paschal Vigil.

xxii. Holy week fast. Easter computed with Jews.

xxiii. Exhortation.

xxiv *a*. Bishop visiting sick.

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xxviii, xxix *a*. Fast before Communion. Only the faithful to receive. Care for Eucharistic elements. Reverence in the Sanctuary.

EGCO, ETHCO, H<sub>3</sub>.

CONFIRMATION by bishop (form given) with laying on of hands, anointing and kiss of peace.

COMMUNION (words of adm. in both kinds [in H only of Bread]). Milk and honey *mixed*. Three cups in EthCO (honey, milk, wine) and H (water, milk, wine). Teaching of the Resurrection only after baptism (?). H has a lacuna before this.

47-52 (36-39). Of Fasting [H deest]. Agape (called The Lord's Supper in EgCO, H, not EthCO). Catechumens not at Agape; bread *and a cup* given them. (H: bread given them and each *to offer a cup*.) [EthCO adds: Gifts to the sick; public prayers *at the lamplighting* (form given), psalm singing, offering of a cup (cf. H); fragments given to the faithful as eulogiae.] Supper for widows.

53, 54 (40 B). Firstfruits, form given. [For interpolation in EthCO see p. 21.]

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55 (41). Two days absolute fast before Easter.

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56 (42). Bishop visiting sick.

57 (43). Private prayers on waking; instructions in Church.

58-60 *a* (44, 45). Fast before Communion. Only the faithful to receive. Care for Eucharistic elements.



TEST.

9. CONFIRMATION by bishop (form given, developed from EgCO) with laying on of hands, anointing and kiss of peace.

10a. COMMUNION (words of adm. of Bread). *No milk and honey.* Reference to water in chalice (cf. H). Caution as to care of the Eucharistic elements (see below). Teaching of the Resurrection only after baptism.

11-13. Alms to a *widow or poor woman*. Rules for Pascha, *'the lamplighting,'* Pentecost. The Agape (catechumens not to receive). The faithful not to consort with heathen.

14-17. Firstfruits (form almost as EgCO, with short prayer for Offerer added). Property. Things strangled or sacrificed not to be eaten\*.

18, 19. Paschal Vigil (independent).

20. Two days absolute fast before Easter.

21. Bishop visiting sick.

22. Singing the psalms.

25 b. Fast before Communion; see also ii. 10 above.

\* So AC vi. 12<sup>13</sup> and || Didasc. Cf. ApCan 63 and Ac. xv. 20, 29.

AC viii, CONSTH.

41-44. Commemorations of the departed and memorial feasts.

30, 31, 40. Firstfruits (independent form), tithes and eulogiae for the clergy.

## CH.

xxx, xxxi. Distribution of 'oblations'; communicating sick presbyters.

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xxi. Clergy's daily prayer meeting, *with the people*.

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xxiv *b*, xxv *a*. Burials.

xxv *b*-xxvii, xxix *b*. Hours of private prayer; duty of going to church when there is a meeting 'for the word of God.' Coming of the Bridegroom. At cockcrow prayer *in the church*. Sign of the cross, like the sprinkling of the blood of the Paschal Lamb.

xxxvii. Vestments at the Eucharist.

EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>.

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60 *b* (46). Clergy's daily prayer meeting (H deest).

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61 (47). Burials (H deest).

62 (48). Hours of private prayer (at great length); duty of going to church if there is an 'exhortation.' [H fragment begins here.] Coming of the Bridegroom. At cockcrow *private* prayer. Sign of the cross etc. as CH. [In H this paragraph is given twice with slight variations.]

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TEST.

10 *b*. Communicating sick presbyters; deacon baptises if presbyter absent.

See i. 32 above.

23. Burials.

24, 25 *a*. Hours of private prayer either in the church or in the house. Christians and catechumens exhorted. [25 *c*–27, Conclusion.]

AC viii, CONSTH.

33. Festivals, etc.

35–39. Public prayers for all men twice daily (form given). Not in ConstH.

34. Hours of private prayer either in the church or in the house.

45, 46. Hospitality for the persecuted. Long exhortation to good order (*εὐταξία*).

*Note 1.* There is an interpolation in EthCO as given by Horner (pp. 162–178). Statute 40 (on firstfruits), here called 40 B, is preceded by another Statute 40, here called 40 A, which is no part of EthCO. The interpolation begins with another version of the prologue to H<sub>3</sub> (see below, p. 162), and proceeds to give a description of baptism, with a large number of forms for consecrating oil, the font, etc. In some particulars this description is inconsistent with what had been said before, in Statute 35, and it is a repetition in fuller terms of that Statute.

*Note 2.* AC viii. and ConstH consist of five tracts: (1) Of gifts, *περὶ χαρισμάτων*, §§ 1, 2; (2) Constitutions of the holy Apostles about ordination through Hippolytus, §§ 4–31; (3) Constitutions of Paul the holy Apostle about ecclesiastical canons, § 32; (4) Constitutions of Peter and Paul the holy Apostles, §§ 33–45; (5) Teaching about good order (*εὐταξία*), of all the holy Apostles, § 46.

## ii. APPENDIX TO THE ARABIC DIDASCALIA

The last five chapters of this work (35—39) consist of part of a Church Order closely akin to Test. The contents are: description of the buildings (= Test i. 19 very nearly); ordination of bishops, with ordination prayer (= Test i. 20, 21 very nearly); times of prayer of bishops *and presbyters* (= Test i. 22 *a*, but there presbyters are not mentioned); bishops' fasts (= Test i. 22 *b*); description (only) of the Liturgy, corresponding to Test i. 26, 27, 23; Mystagogia (rather shorter than, but closely resembling Test i. 28). This is expressly said to be the end of the book.

Funk (*DidCA* ii. 122) gives a duplicate of § 38, with some omissions, as § 23. The repetition of this chapter may perhaps show that the Appendix was added to ArD by a later hand. Funk also publishes (ii. 120) the preface to ArD, which is prefixed to the older (Syriac) Didasc in Mrs Gibson's MS as an interpolation, and which is also almost the same as that of EthD (below, p. 32). Funk gives four sections of the first chapter, but no other part of this work is published.

It is probable that a portion of the ETHIOPIC DIDASCALIA (§§ 25—30), of which we only know the headings, through Wansleb and Ludolf (Platt, p. xv f.), is also closely akin to Test. The headings are: (25) De structura Templi et ejusdem Heikel (היכל); (26) lacuna; (27) De ordinatione episcoporum; (28) De oratione episcoporum *cum ecclesiasticis*; (29) De jejuniis episcopi; (30) continet Mystagogiam seu doctrinam occultam quam apostoli docuerunt.

The Mystagogia in these works and in Test is an

instruction on the Christian religion given to the faithful on certain festivals at the Eucharist, after the dismissal of the catechumens ; see below, p. 168.

iii. SAHIDIC ECCLESIASTICAL CANONS 63—78  
(EGYPTIAN HEPTATEUCH iii.—vi.)

These sections are a reproduction of AC viii. with several omissions and variations. The ascription of various sections to the different Apostles is not retained. Similarly AC viii. 4<sup>1</sup> (the account of those said to be present) is omitted. There are no ordination prayers, and no Liturgy, but a description of the latter and a few of the shorter formulas are given, and a rubric is added at the end with reference to the consumption of the elements that remain. It is expressly said, in opposition to AC and ConstH, that none of the minor orders are to be ordained (below, p. 78 f.). There are no benedictions of oil and water ; no daily public prayers are given. In the Bohairic (Tattam), but not in the Sahidic (Horner), the rules about newcomers and forbidden trades (= AC viii. 32 *a*) are postponed till after the Exhortation to Good Order.

This work is either an excerpt from our AC viii., the writer altering what he had before him to suit his own Egyptian customs, or else an excerpt from an earlier form of AC. The statement that the minor orders are not to be ordained may perhaps incline us to the latter supposition.

Four of the books of the SYRIAN OCTATEUCH (iv.—vii.), which have not been published, appear to correspond closely with SEC 63—78. The table of contents is published in Lagarde's *Reliquiae jur. can.* p. xvii.

The ETHIOPIC STATUTES 49—72 are almost the same as SEC 63—78 (see Horner, pp. 186—232). There are some slight variations; there is a long passage about resting on Saturday and on Sunday; and at the end several prayers for various occasions are given.

## CHAPTER III

### CONTENTS OF THE OTHER CHURCH ORDERS

#### i. THE DIDACHE AND ITS COGNATES

1. The **Didache** is so well known that it requires but little notice here. It begins (1—5) with a Tract on the Two Ways (of life and death). Then after a connecting sentence it gives various rules for Christian life and worship, for meats (6), for baptism, with a formula (7), for fasts on Wednesday and Friday, and for the use thrice a day of the Lord's Prayer (8); it provides two prayers before and one after the 'Eucharistic thanksgiving' (9, 10), see below, p. 62; it gives injunctions as to an itinerant ministry of 'apostles and prophets,' and as to firstfruits given to them (11—13), as to Sunday services (14) and the appointment of a local ministry of 'bishops and deacons' (15); and concludes with an exhortation to watchfulness (16). Its primitive character is seen by the arrangements for the ministry, and it is probably divided in time by a very considerable interval from all the other Church Orders mentioned<sup>1</sup>

in this volume. Yet it is of great importance for our purpose, because it has been, in whole or in part, incorporated into the works next mentioned. The name 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' is given in MSS to several other works, *e.g.* to ApCO-syr and EdCan.

2. The **Apostolic Church Order**. This manual, to which, as we have seen, some MSS give the name 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' is also called 'The Canons of the Apostles,' but it must not be confused with the much later and much better known work of the same name, called in this volume the 'Apostolic Canons.' ApCO considerably develops the apostolic fiction found in the title of D, naming the Twelve in the prelude in a curious manner. Thus it makes Cephas and Nathanael different from Peter and Bartholomew, and it omits Matthew. Only one James is mentioned; perhaps the son of Zebedee is omitted, as *ex hypothesi* he was dead at the supposed time of writing. The sections are ascribed to different Apostles, as was afterwards done in AC. John begins the speaking, and is named first in the list, though Peter is the chief speaker. The preeminence of John leads us to think of Asia Minor as the home of this Church Order.

After a prelude which reechoes a phrase from the Epistle of Barnabas ('Rejoice O sons and daughters in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ'), and which prescribes the appointment of bishops, presbyters, deacons, *readers* and *widows* (no other minor order is mentioned), the Tract on the Two Ways is reproduced



(4—13 \* = D 1—4 *α* with some interpolations, and slight omissions in the first part); but the end of the Tract as given in D, including the 'Way of Death,' is altogether omitted, though the latter is referred to in ApCO 4. It is probable therefore that the Compiler had before him a mutilated copy of D, or of the Tract. The rest of D finds no place in ApCO, but instead, after two sections (14, 15) inserted to bridge over a gap, we have a series of regulations for the Christian ministry. The qualifications of a bishop are based on the Pastoral Epistles. Three presbyters are to be appointed by the bishop, and an elaborate reference is introduced to the elders of the Apocalypse (Rev. iv. 4), and to the position of the presbyters on either side of the bishop; those on the right are to regulate the service of the altar, those on the left to regulate the people; the presbyters are 'sharers in the mysteries' with the bishop, who is the 'shepherd' (see below, p. 68). The appointment of a reader, curiously enough, comes next. The deacons are three in number (so syr); their qualifications are based on the Pastoral Epistles. We have also sections dealing with good order among laymen and the ministry of women, including a curious side-remark about Martha and Mary, and an *ἄγραφον* of our Lord: 'The weak shall be saved through the strong.' Women must approach the Eucharist with heads covered (so rightly syr, see below, p. 42; other versions have 'must not pray standing,' apparently

\* The sections in the Ethiopic and Arabic versions (Horner) are numbered differently.

reading προσεύχασθαι for προσέρχασθαι, a very ancient corruption of the text), and must only minister to women (see below, pp. 83 f., 105 f.). This Church Order has no liturgical forms.

3. **AC vii. 1—32.** In these chapters the whole of D is reproduced, with many interpolations and with alterations made in order to bring the material into harmony with the age of the interpolator. It is instructive to note the manner of treatment. The interpolator has in several places introduced the apostolic fiction (above, p. 3 f.); also an allusion to the Emperor (§ 16), whose appointment (χειροτονία) is of the Lord, and to whose rulers tribute must willingly be paid. The regulations of D about apostles and prophets are omitted or reduced to an injunction to receive a strange teacher if he be tested, but to reject a false teacher (§ 28). First-fruits *and tithes* are to be paid to the *priests* (ιερείαι), orphans, and poor, not as D to the prophets or to the poor (§ 29). Bishops, *presbyters*, and deacons are to be ordained (§ 31'). A protest against Judaic distinctions of meats is introduced, but those offered to idols are to be avoided (§ 20 f.), as in D. In Baptism anointing before and after the act of immersion is introduced (§ 22). The injunction of D that the candidate is to fast—the interpolator does not, like D, add the baptizer and others—is accounted for by the fact that our Lord fasted (see below, p. 137). The weekly fasts are to be either Wednesday and Friday, as D, or 'the five days,' *i.e.* Monday to Friday; but every Saturday is to be kept as a festival except

that on which our Lord was in the grave, the Creator under the earth (§ 23). One instance of a change of phraseology may be given. D (§ 4) has a rather difficult phrase about the duty of Christians to one who speaks the word of God. He is to be remembered 'night and day,' for 'whence the κυριότης is spoken, there is ὁ κύριος' (so ApCO-syr [*JThSt* iii. 65], with 'where' for 'whence'). The interpolator (§ 9) says that he is to be remembered 'day and night...for where the teaching about God is, there God is present.' Thus a difficult phrase is simplified, as indeed is also the case in ApCO-boh where the paronomasia is altogether removed.

## ii. APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS vii. 33—viii. 2

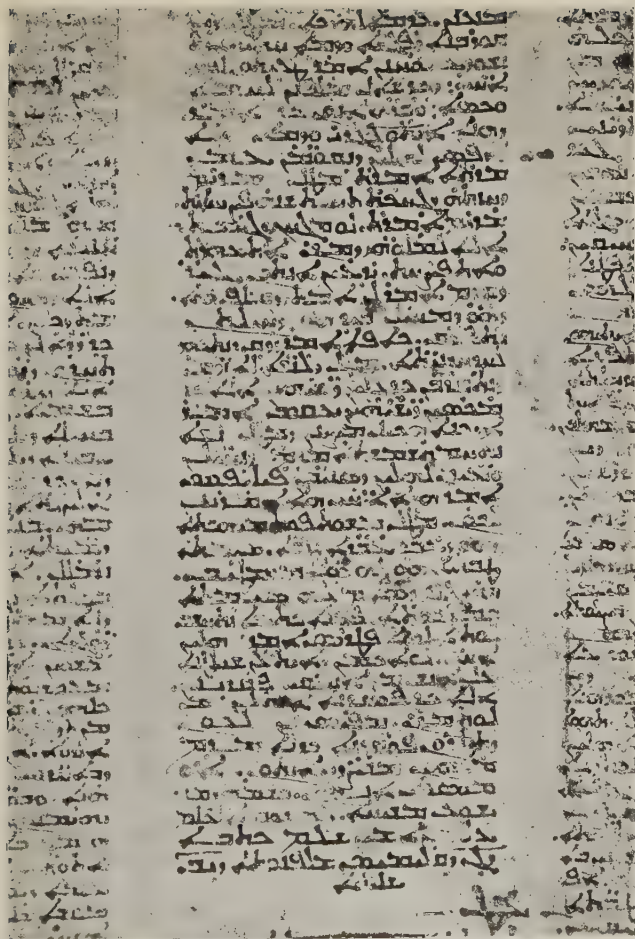
1. The latter part of the Seventh Book consists of liturgical and other matter of which the source is unknown. We have first a long and diffuse prayer or meditation to be said by Christians in private (§§ 33—38); then a description of the instruction of catechumens and of the baptismal ceremonies, with prayers, etc. (§§ 39—45, see p. 96 ff. below). A list of early bishops of different sees is somewhat unexpectedly added (§ 46). And our present copies end with a text of the hymn *Gloria in excelsis* and with the *Nunc Dimittis*, both with additional clauses at the end, as is the case with the *Te Deum* as sung to-day (§§ 47—49). It may however be doubted if these last three chapters are not a later addition; they have no connexion with the rest of the book,

and § 46 seems to be the more natural conclusion.—The presence in this book of the baptismal regulations explains their omission in bk. viii., where the parallel Church Orders have them (above, p. 16 ff.).

2. The first two chapters of bk. viii. (also found with some variations in ConstH, SEC, EthS, and Syrian Octateuch) are a diffuse tract *Of Charismata* (spiritual gifts), *περὶ χαρισμάτων*. This tract is thought to be based on a treatise of that name by Hippolytus, now lost; but it is certainly largely interpolated by the AC compiler.

### iii. THE DIDASCALIA AND ITS COGNATES

1. The older **Didascalia**, now existing in Syriac and (in fragments) in a Latin version, itself probably interpolated, was doubtless originally written in Greek. It is a diffuse and loosely connected manual of instruction, with references to Church organisations and customs. It begins with moral precepts (= AC i.), which are followed by a long series of sections on the qualifications and duties of bishops and clergy, with a description of a church (= AC ii.); it gives directions about widows and the ministration of women (= AC iii.), about orphans and almsgiving (= AC iv.), about confessors and martyrs, with sections on the Resurrection, on the Paschal fast, and on the training of children (= AC v.). The work concludes with remarks on heresies and schisms (AC vi.). Those who study this manual in Mrs Gibson's edition should note that the manuscript used by her has a



### Syriac Translation of the Didascalia

(‘Malabar Bible,’ Cambridge Univ. Lib. Oo. i. 2, fol. 315r, col. 2). MS. written in the 12th century. The plate shows the conversation about Martha and Mary laughing.



very long post-Nestorian interpolation not found in Codex Sangermanensis, which Lagarde used. This interpolation consists of passages from Test, ApCO, and elsewhere. It must be later than Jacob of Edessa, the translator of Test into Syriac (seventh century), as the Syriac of the interpolation is almost verbatim the same as that of Jacob.

2. **AC i.—vi.** The older Didasc has been freely treated by the compiler of AC. He has omitted some passages, but on the whole has enlarged his source by several interpolations. He has also altered many passages. We may notice some instances which illustrate his method. Didasc shows great fondness for Biblical quotations; but AC goes much further, and has profuse quotations, unlike Test, which, true to its pretence of authorship, is sparing of direct citations of the NT, though it constantly refers to it. Of alterations due to changed circumstances we note AC ii. 59<sup>1</sup>, where the lay people are bidden to assemble for public worship *twice daily*, whereas Didasc only mentions the Lord's day; in AC v. 13 an elaborate festal cycle is introduced (below, p. 129); in AC vi. 17 directions about the marriage of the clergy in all grades are added. An unbalanced statement in Didasc on sin after baptism is modified in AC ii. 7<sup>2</sup> (below, p. 94). One other change of phrase may be mentioned. In Didasc we read (in the passage || AC ii. 26<sup>3</sup>): 'These (the bishops) are your high priests; the priests and levites, who then were, are now deacons, presbyters, widows and orphans.' Here AC has: 'These are your high priests; but your



priests (*ιερείς*) are the presbyters, and your levites are the present deacons and your readers and singers and doorkeepers, your deaconesses and widows and virgins, and your orphans' (see p. 67 *n.* below). The interpolations, which are extremely numerous, are in the marked style of the AC Compiler (Brightman *LEW* p. xxiv f.).

3. The **Ethiopic Didascalia** is apparently derived from AC. The preface is nearly the same as that of ArD (p. 22). It begins with a sentence from AC viii. 4<sup>1</sup>, enumerating those present (the Twelve, Paul, James) at the putting forth of the Teaching. This is followed by a passage which recalls ApCO 1, names the ranks of the clergy—bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, 'nīpīlōbānos' (= *παρθένους*?), but deaconesses are omitted—and introduces the reference to Clement. In the middle of a sentence we reach the beginning of the older Didasc, and the first four books of AC are then followed, with some considerable alterations and omissions. At a point parallel to the end of AC iv. 12 Platt's MS comes to an abrupt end. It is divided into 22 chapters.

We have, however, the table of contents of another MS. It is given by Platt (p. xv) from Ludolf, who borrowed it from Wansleb's *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie*. In the Table the first 16 chapters appear to agree with Platt's, except that it omits the preface. The remaining six of Platt's chapters appear in the Table as 31, 32, 17, 33 (and 34), 18, 35; that is, the order of AC is departed from, for Platt's order is that of AC. The additional chapters in the Table are: (19) Of Virgins' vows, = AC iv. 14?; (20) Of



Festivals and Pascha, =v. 13 ff.; (21) Of martyrs, =v. 1 ff.; (22) Of avoiding scandals, =v. 10; (23) Of swearing by idols, =v. 11; (24) Of the computation of Pascha, which must be in the week in which the fourteenth day of the moon falls, =v. 17 ff.; (25—30) chapters corresponding to ArD-app (see p. 22); (36) Of the resurrection of all men, =AC v. 7?; (37) Of keeping festivals joyfully, =v. 20<sup>19?</sup>; (38) Of observing burials with hymns and prayers.

4. For the **Arabic Didascalia**, see above, p. 22.

#### iv. OTHER ILLUSTRATIVE LITERATURE

1. The **Sacramentary of Sarapion**, Bishop of Thmuis in the Nile Delta (so §§ 1, 15) and a friend of Athanasius, *c.* A.D. 350, is a set of prayers for the use of a bishop. It contains the Eucharistic Anaphora, with benedictions of water and oil for healing (1—6), baptismal prayers (7—11), ordination prayers for deacons, presbyters and bishops (12—14; there are none for minor orders), benedictions of oils for baptism and confirmation, and for sickness, see below, p. 43 (15—17), a funeral prayer (18), and pro-anaphoral prayers (19—30). Only the bishop's part is given.

2. The **Pilgrimage of 'Silvia' or of 'Etheria'** is an anonymous account of the travels in the East of a lady of Gaul or Spain at the end of the fourth century. She appears to have been the head of a religious community in her own land. She describes the services at Jerusalem; and to her we are indebted for a large amount of information about

the liturgical customs of that time. The name of the authoress is unknown ; 'Silvia' and 'Etheria' are mere conjectures. The bishop of Jerusalem mentioned was probably St Cyril's successor.

3. The **Catechetical Lectures of St Cyril of Jerusalem** (*CL*) were delivered at Jerusalem A.D. 348, while St Cyril was still a presbyter. They give us a detailed description of the baptismal and Eucharistic usages of his time at Jerusalem.

4. The **Eighty-five Apostolic Canons**, often attached to AC, and perhaps by the same author, illustrate the ecclesiastical customs current in Syria at the end of the fourth century. They will be frequently referred to in these pages. They received canonical authority from the Trullan Council, A.D. 692. They are also to be found in SEC, as the seventh book of the Egyptian Heptateuch (Tattam, p. 174 ff.), but there are several variations ; the order frequently differs, and the canon of Scripture in § 85 is not quite the same as in the Greek. These canons also form the eighth book of the Syrian Octateuch, but this part is not published.

5. The **Edessene Canons** appear to have been composed in Syriac. In addition to the canons there is an account of the preaching of the Apostles.

## CHAPTER IV

### CHURCH BUILDINGS AND WORSHIP

1. **Church Buildings.** The earliest account of Church buildings is given in Didasc, which mentions 'holy churches,' presbyters' seats 'in the part of the house which is turned to the East,' the bishop's throne in the midst of them, the laymen also sitting 'in another part turned to the East' behind the presbyters, the women behind them, so that when they stand to pray the rulers (*praepositi*) rise first and after them the laymen, and then the women. All pray towards the East (so || AC ii. 57<sup>3</sup>, 57<sup>14</sup>, EdCan 1, Tertullian *Apol.* 16). One deacon attends to the Eucharistic offerings, another guards the door outside; later in the service both serve together inside the church. The deacon arranges the congregation and keeps order, the aged and the young sitting in separate parts of the church (Funk *DidCA* i. 158 ff., Gibson p. 65 f.; H<sub>1</sub> is wanting here).

The corresponding part of AC (ii. 57) adds several particulars. There are porticoes or chambers (τὰ παστοφώρια or παστοφορεῖα) 'towards the East' (cf. Test below); these may be sacristies, for in viii. 13<sup>17</sup> the deacons carry into them what remains of the

Eucharistic elements after the communion of the people. The church, which is oblong, and turned to the East, is like a ship, with the bishop as helmsman\*, the deacons in trim garments as sailors and head-rowers (τοίχαρχοι), the laymen ('the brethren') as passengers. The reader stands in the middle on a raised place (EthD 10 is similar). The idea of the ship is also found in the 'Clementine' *Epistle to James* (§ 14), but there the Church referred to is the Christian society, not the building. God is the ship-master, Christ the pilot, the bishop the man in the prow (πρωρεύς), the deacons the sailors, the catechists the midshipmen, the laity the passengers.

In Test and ArD we have a much fuller account. In Test i. 19 we read of the bishop's throne, raised three steps, on the East (?), with the presbyters right and left, the altar, which is on the raised steps, veiled (cf. CH xxix. 210, xxxvi. 188, both bracketed by Achelis), as is also the baptistery. There are two porches (στοαί) on right and left, apparently near the altar, for the men and the women. All the places are to be lighted, both for a type, and for reading. The lectern is outside the 'altar' (sanctuary). There is a courtyard with various buildings—a diaconicum or deacons' chamber, an *oblong* baptistery, a building for catechumens and for exorcists, a building for receiving the oblations, a *place* for the presbyters, a house of 'offering' and the treasury, houses for the bishop, presbyters, deacons, widows, deaconesses, and a guest house (see below, p. 65). There are three

\* In Test i. 23 (last prayer) God is called 'the Helmsman of souls.'

entrances (to the courtyard?) 'as a type of the Trinity.' The description of ArD 35 is very similar. The dimensions of the baptistery, called here 'photisterium' (*φωτιστήριον*) are slightly different ( $24 \times 12$  instead of  $21 \times 12$  cubits), and the phrase about lights is expanded thus: 'Let them be lighted with many lights as a figure of heavenly things, especially in the reading of the pericopae of the sacred books.' This is a clear sign of the dependence of ArD on Test and not vice versa. The completeness of the description shows that neither of these works can be ante-Nicene.

In the foregoing descriptions of the seats of the clergy there is some ambiguity. Is the meaning that there was an apse at the East end, with the bishop and presbyters seated in a semicircle round the East wall looking West, the holy table at the chord of the apse? The Church Orders are far from clear on this point. But in any case all prayed *looking East*. This is seen in the above accounts, and also in the description of the Liturgy in Test i. 23, where the bishop stands to celebrate it in the middle, the presbyters immediately behind him on either side, the deacons and widows behind them on the right and left respectively, the readers, subdeacons and deaconesses in turn behind them, and all within the veil. Thus, if the semicircular arrangement of seats is meant, the bishop and presbyters must have left their seats and have stood on the West of the holy table, facing East\*.

\* We read of some exceptions to the rule of churches facing East; e.g. at Antioch (Socrates, *HE* v. 22).

In Didasc we read of the clergy and people *rising* for prayer; so in AC ii. 57<sup>14</sup>; and so Cyprian *de Orat. Dom.* 31, Origen, *in Num. hom.* xx. 5, etc. Standing was the normal attitude (cf. Mk. xi. 25, Lk. xviii. 11, 13); kneeling or genuflexion was practised as a sign of special penitence, but was forbidden on Sundays and between Easter and Pentecost (Nicaea can. 20; cf. Test ii. 12, Tertullian *de Cor. Mil.* 3, Augustine *Ep.* lv. 32 (Ben.) *ad Januarium*, Cassian *Inst.* ii. 18). We find, however, kneeling in Hermas *Vis.* ii. 1 and in NT (Ac. vii. 60, ix. 40, xx. 36, xxi. 5, Eph. iii. 14).

2. **The Eucharist.** Four of the Church Orders give, more or less fully, the Eucharistic Liturgy; several others give some slight description of the same. From this material we may get some idea of the service. It would appear that the structure of the Liturgy was allowed to remain in a more or less fluid condition till the fourth century. The first part to be crystallised into a written form was probably from the Sursum Corda to the end of the Invocation or Epiclesis. In other portions, such as the deacon's Ectene or Litany, the pro-anaphoral prayers, the Intercession for the Church, the prayers at the dismissal of the catechumens, and the Communion of the people, this process followed a little later. That the Communion was not put into a fixed form quite so soon as the Eucharistic Thanksgiving is made probable by the following fact. The Liturgy in H<sub>3</sub>, as far as it goes, is almost identical with that in EthCO, and is closely connected with that of Test

(see below). But it stops short at the end of the Blessing of Oil etc., which immediately follows the Epiclesis. The part which in EthCO follows this is not only absent from H, but, so far as the wording of its prayers etc. is concerned, is quite independent of Test and AC. The conclusion is that all which follows the Blessing of the Oil in EthCO is a later addition (see also below, p. 53).

But the *general scheme* of the service is the same in all the authorities, and seems to be much more ancient than the set forms. We may conjecture from our materials that even before (perhaps long before) the fourth century the Eucharistic service consisted of (1) prayers and psalmody, (2) lections and instructions, (3) dismissal of catechumens and perhaps a 'fencing of the tables,' (4) requests for prayer and a litany-like series of petitions, (5) kiss of peace and offertory, (6) salutation and *Sursum Corda*, with Eucharistic Thanksgiving commemorating creation (?) and redemption and describing the Last Supper, and containing the Oblation and Invocation, (7) blessing of oil for healing (?), (8) communion of clergy and people, (9) thanksgiving and dismissal. This scheme is somewhat fuller than, but is consistent with, the well-known accounts in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 65, 67) and Cyril of Jerusalem (*CL* xxiii.), and agrees with the detached references to the Liturgy in St Chrysostom's Antiochene writings, which have been collected by Brightman (*LEW* p. 470 ff.).

The details of the Liturgy in the four Church Orders will best be seen by the following Table.



ETHCO AND H <sub>3</sub> .	TEST i.	AC viii.
[Eth. Stat. 22; Hauler lxix.-lxxi.]	[The order of 26-28, 35 is uncertain.]	
—	26, 27 <i>a</i> . Prayers and psalmody (not daily).	35-39. Public morning prayer (daily).
—	27 <i>b</i> . Lections and instruction.	51 <sup>1</sup> . Lections and instruction.
—	27 <i>c</i> . Catechumens dismissed (no form given) with laying on of hands.	6-9. Long dismissals of catechumens, penitents, etc.
—	35. Deacon's Ectene (independent); the bishop 'concluding the prayer' (no form given).	10-11 <sup>6</sup> . Deacon's Ectene (independent), the bishop concluding the prayer (form given).
—	28. Mystagogia on festivals.	—
Offertory.	23 <i>a</i> . Kiss of peace, Offertory, Deacon's short admonition.	117-123. Kiss of peace, Lavabo, Deacon's short admonition, Offertory.
Salutation and Sursum Corda.	23 <i>b</i> . Salutation and Sursum Corda.	124. <sup>5</sup> Salutation and Sursum Corda.
Eucharistic thanksgiving (short) with commemoration of Redemption (one sentence refers to creation, no reference to Angels, no Sanctus), Words of our Lord, Oblation ('Remembering therefore') and Invocation (implicit, asking for the Holy Ghost).	23 <i>c</i> . Sancta sanctis.	126-39. Eucharistic thanksg. with very long commemoration of Creation, reference to Angels and Sanctus, commemoration of Redemption, Words of our Lord, Oblation and <i>explicit</i> Invocation, asking for the Holy Ghost.
—	23 <i>d</i> . Euch. thanksg. from EthCO with long preamble and with interpolations, reference to Angels but no Sanctus; only half of our Lord's Words given; Oblation from EthCO closely (said by the people with the bishop), Invocation (implicit, <i>addressed to Holy Trinity</i> , not explicitly asking for the Holy Ghost).	
	23 <i>e</i> . Prayer for communicants and very short Intercession for Church.	1240-51. Intercession for Church (long).



ETHCO AND H <sub>3</sub> .	TEST i.	AC viii.
Blessing of oil [and cheese and olives, H], short form given.	—	—
[The rest not in H.]		
Prayers for communicants.	—	13 <sup>1-11</sup> . Benediction, deacon's shorter Ectene, bishop's prayer.
Sancta sanctis.	[see above]	13 <sup>12,13</sup> . Sancta sanctis, Gloria in excelsis (one sentence), Hosanna, Benedictus qui venit.
Benediction and Communion with hymn of praise.	23 <i>f</i> . Benedictus qui venit.	13 <sup>14-17</sup> . Communion, with psalms.
Thanksgiving after Reception.	23 <i>g</i> . Communion and rubrics as to who is not to receive.	14, 15 <sup>1-6</sup> . Thanksgiving after Reception, prefaced by deacon's exhortation similar to AC but independent.
Benediction by presbyter, Prayer for congregation and benediction by bishop.	23 <i>h</i> . Thanksgiving after Reception, prefaced by deacon's exhortation similar to AC but independent.	15 <sup>7-9</sup> . Prayer for the congregation.
Dismissal by deacon.	—	15 <sup>10</sup> . Dismissal by deacon.
[see above]	24, 25. Benediction of oil and water (form given, independent).	29. Benediction of water and oil (form given, independent).

*Note 1.* In the above Table, by an 'explicit Invocation' is meant one which prays that the elements may become or be made the body and blood of Christ to the end that the communicants may be blessed; by an 'implicit Invocation' one which omits the express reference to the change in the elements.

*Note 2.* The order of communicating is suggestive. After bishops, presbyters and deacons, come in Test, widows,

readers, subdeacons, those that have gifts, neophytes, babes, old men, virgins (male), other laymen, deaconesses, laywomen; in AC, subdeacons, readers, *singers*, ascetics, deaconesses, virgins (female), widows, children, all the lay people in order. Each communicant replies Amen, and in Test also says a prayer for himself. In ApCan 8, 9, all the faithful, clergy and laity, who attend, are expected to communicate except for good cause. Women communicate veiled; see ApCO-syr 27, AC ii. 57<sup>21</sup> (not || Didasc), EthD 10; cf. Test ii. 4.

*Note 3.* In EdCan 10 the 'OT' and Prophets and Gospel and Acts are the only lections allowed; the Epistles seem to be excluded. Standing for the Gospel is prescribed in EdCan 8, AC ii. 57<sup>8</sup>, EthD 10 (cf. Sozomen *HE* vii. 19).

*Note 4.* The Sursum Corda is mentioned in Cyprian *de Orat. Dom.* 31, and Cyril of Jerusalem, *CL* xxiii. 4 f.

*Note 5.* The Lord's Prayer comes before Sancta Sanctis and Communion in Cyr. Jer. *CL* xxiii. 11—18, and St Augustine says that it was used 'daily in the Church before the altar of God' in his day (*Serm.* lviii. 12 Ben., aliter xlii.), and that 'almost the whole Church concludes the [Eucharistic] petition with the Lord's Prayer' (*Ep.* cxlix. 16, *ad Paulinum*). But it is not found in the Liturgies of our Church Orders; it is not in EthCO, though this is the part which seems to be the later addition, nor in Test nor in AC. Nor do we find it in Sar, though Brightman sees traces of it both there and in EthCO (*JThSt* i. 97); but this is far from obvious. The witness of St Chrysostom is doubtful but rather points to its use (*LEW* p. 480, note 28). The private use of the Lord's Prayer is prescribed in AC iii. 18 and (thrice daily) in D 8 and || AC vii. 24. St Cyprian (*de Orat. Dom.* 2 f.) urges its private use, but though he refers to the Eucharist more than once in the treatise (*e.g.* 4, 31), he does not expressly say that the Prayer was in public use as part of the Liturgy.

*Note 6.* There is a prayer in Sar 17 over oil or *bread* or water, and another (5 f.) for oils and waters that are being offered, with a benediction; in Test and AC there are prayers over oil and water, in EthCO over oil. All these seem to be for the healing of the sick. But this can hardly be the case with the blessing of cheese and olives in H<sub>3</sub> p. 108.

The descriptions in CH and EgCO are meagre, only giving the Salutation and Sursum Corda; but CH alludes to the benediction of oil and firstfruits, which is to end with the Gloria Patri in this form: 'Glory to thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for ever, Amen' (see below, p. 125). There is also a description of a Liturgy (clearly founded on AC viii.) in SEC 64 f.; a few of the deacon's proclamations are given (including that before the Thanksgiving after reception); the words of administration are given in full ('This is the body of Christ'; 'This is the blood of Christ, this is the cup of life'); and the Invocation described is an explicit one: 'Let the High Priest pray over the oblation, that the Holy Ghost may descend on it, making the bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ.' EthS 53 has almost identically the same description of the Liturgy, but it mentions Church *gates*, and says of the Epiclesis: 'The High Priest shall pray over the same that the Holy Ghost may descend and dwell upon them, upon the bread that it may become the body of Christ, and upon the cup that it may become the blood of Christ; and then the bishop shall say the Coming of the Holy Spirit.' To the

first formula of administration is prefixed: 'This is the bread which came down from the heavens' (Horner p. 200). The description in SEC-arab adds incense\* at the time of the ordination of a bishop, and in the Epiclesis agrees with EthS 53 (Horner p. 274 ff.). That in ArD 38 (Funk *DidCA* ii. 132, Brightman *LEW* 510) begins with a prayer of Thanksgiving, followed by instruction and psalmody; the presbyter (not the deacon) brings in the elements; there is a procession with incense; lections are read; a long prayer is made for the Church (*i.e.* the deacon's Ectene), and the Anaphora is said, the veil being let down, and the clergy (including subdeacons, a reader [or readers], 'widows who are deaconesses' and those with gifts) being inside the veil; the deacons wave fans (so AC viii. 12<sup>3</sup>, and || SEC-sah-arab 65, EthS 53, and perhaps Test ii. 10). Apparently ArD and Test are the only manuals which allow women inside the veil.

The Epiclesis in Test is a remarkable one, as not expressly asking for the Holy Ghost. The words of our Lord 'Do this in remembrance of me' are omitted in the Recital of the Last Supper, and yet the Invocation begins with 'Remembering therefore.' This would prove (since the rationale of these words is to take up our Lord's command) that 'Do this' was in the source of Test. According to the most probable reading the Epiclesis runs as follows: 'Remembering therefore thy death and resurrection, we offer to thee bread and the cup, giving thanks to thee who alone art God for ever and our Saviour, since thou hast promised us to stand before thee and to

\* So in EthD 14, 16 incense is added to the || AC iii. 10, 20.

serve thee in priesthood. Therefore we render thanks to thee, we thy servants O Lord [the people repeat this, with (?) the bishop]. We offer to thee this thanksgiving, Eternal Trinity, O Lord Jesus Christ, O Lord the Father ...O Lord the Holy Ghost; we have brought this drink and this food to thy holiness [so the derived 'Anaphora of our Lord']; cause that it may be to us not for condemnation...but for the medicine and support of our spirit.' We notice the confusion of Persons, so characteristic of this writer (see below, p. 119); the Father had been addressed in the immediately preceding paragraph. The writer seems deliberately to have omitted a prayer for the Holy Ghost which was in his source; and this is surprising in one who had such a clear conception of the personality of the Third Person (below, p. 119).

Reference may here be made to two later forms of the Test liturgy; the Arabic translation of it (made through the Coptic) which is referred to in Rahmani's notes but is not published; and the Ethiopic 'Anaphora of our Lord' derived from Test (for an English version see Cooper-Maclean p. 245 ff.). Test-arab alters the sentences of the deacon's admonition at the Offertory, and omits some of them, adds the Sanctus, and has an Epiclesis addressed to the Holy Ghost (so Rahmani p. 39); inserts long diptychs and, before the Communion, the Lord's prayer. The 'Anaphora of our Lord' begins with the Eucharistic thanksgiving, into which it interpolates diptychs as in the later Egyptian rite; in the Commemoration of the Last Supper, like AC but unlike Test, EthCO, H, occurs the phrase 'In that *night* in which they betrayed him'; as in Test our Lord's words over the cup are omitted; an explicit Epiclesis is added to and precedes the implicit one of Test; the latter remains with slight alterations, one correcting the order of the Three Persons; the Intercession for the Church follows as in Test, but unlike the modern Egyptian and Ethiopic rites. All that follows the

Intercession in Test is omitted in the 'Anaphora of our Lord' as given by Ludolf, except that the post-Communion prayer is added.

The above is the Liturgy when a bishop is consecrated, the new bishop himself being the celebrant. But many of the Church Orders have also, as in Justin Martyr, a second but shorter description of the Eucharist, in connexion with the first communion of the newly baptized. Similarly, though this baptismal Eucharist is wanting in AC viii. (see above, p. 19), we have a description of the Liturgy in AC ii. 57, where it is interpolated into Didasc.—This second description supplies us with one or two details in the Communion of the people which are wanting in the first description, such as the words of administration; and speaks of the custom of giving milk and honey to the neophytes. This custom is mentioned by Tertullian (*de Cor.* 3, *adv. Marc.* i. 14), Clement of Alexandria (*Paedag.* i. 6), and at the third Council of Carthage (can. 24, some MSS); it seems to have been originally Egyptian and African only, for it is not found in Test or AC.

The Church Orders differ in the directions for administering Holy Communion. The older custom seems to have been for the deacons to administer in both kinds (cf. Justin *Apol.* i. 65), and so perhaps Test ii. 10. But the custom varied, the bishop sometimes administering in both kinds, as in CH xix. 146 f. (but in xxxi. 216 the bishop or presbyter may allow deacons to administer 'oblations'—whether that means the Eucharist or the eulogiae), ArD 38?

(so *LEW* 511, but not Funk), cf. Tertull. *de Cor.* 3? ('nec de aliorum manu quam praesidentium sumimus'); in some cases (*EgCO* 46, *EthCO* 35, *H*<sub>3</sub> p. 112) the bishop administers the bread, the presbyters (or if there are not enough presbyters, the deacons) the cups (see above, p. 18); and so in *AC* viii. 13<sup>15</sup>, *SEC* 66, *EthS* 53 (where there is no milk and honey), the bishop administers the bread, the deacon the cup.

Deacons are forbidden to communicate presbyters in *Test* ii. 10, *Nicaea* can. 18, and probably in *EthCO* 35 and *CH* xxx. 215. The two last are unintelligible without the hint given in *Test* :—

*Test*. The deacon does not give the oblation to a presbyter. Let him open the disc or paten, and let the presbyter receive (*i.e.* communicate himself).

*EthCO*. Whenever the deacon approaches the presbyter, he shall hold out his robe, and the presbyter himself shall take (the bread) and deliver to the people with his hand. [The last clause seems to have been added by *EthCO* to its source.] There is no parallel to this in *EgCO*.

*CH*. If the presbyter is sick, let the deacon carry the mysteries to him, and let the presbyter alone accept them.

In *EdCan* 27 it is prescribed that the 'bread of the oblation' is to be used in the Eucharist on the day on which it is baked. This is still the East Syrian (Nestorian) custom.

In several Church Orders reference is made to 'eulogiae,' or bread such as that used for the Eucharist, but not consecrated; it was given to the people much in the same way as the *pain bénit* is given in French churches at the present day. It



seems to have been the same as the 'bread of exorcism' or 'bread of blessing' given to catechumens who were not allowed to be present at Eucharist or Agape. For this custom see CH xx. 171, xxxiii. 170, EgCO 47 f. ('this is a blessing [εὐλογία] and is not an Eucharist like the body of the Lord'), EthCO 36 f., H<sub>3</sub> p. 113, Test ii. 19. In AC viii. 31 and || SEC 73, EthS 61, that which remains over from the Eucharist but is not consecrated (so expressly SEC, EthS) is called eulogiae, and is to be distributed among the clergy, including the minor orders and deaconesses.—The name is also used for the consecrated bread sent from one church to another as a proof of intercommunion, or to absent sick persons (*DCA* i. 629).

The usual word in the Church Orders for celebrating the Eucharist is 'to offer' (προσφέρειν, offerre), or 'to offer the oblation\*.' In AC ii. 25<sup>7</sup> we read of the bishops being priests, levites, to their people, ministering (λειτουργοῦντες) in the holy tabernacle, the holy catholic Church, and standing at the altar of the Lord our God and bringing to him the reasonable and bloodless sacrifices through Jesus the great High priest (|| EthD 5 similar, but with 'offer unto Jesus Christ'), where the phrase 'reasonable and bloodless sacrifices' is not in || Didasc. This method of expression is even more emphatically repeated in AC vi. 23<sup>5</sup>, viii. 5<sup>7</sup> (ordination prayer for bishops), 46<sup>15</sup>; it is found in Sar 1. We must however notice that in Test ii. 10 the phrase 'to offer the oblation' is used of deacons bringing in the elements to the bishop at the Offertory; and || CH xix. 142 (bracketed by Achelis) has: 'Deinde diaconus incipit sacrificare,' i.e. probably, προσφέρειν. [This corresponds to iii. 20: 'Diaconus

\* Cf. Tertullian *de Exhort. Cast.* 7: 'Offers et tinguis,' i.e. 'thou celebratest the Eucharist and baptisest.'



autem afferat oblationes.'] But this sense is unusual; H<sub>3</sub> p. 112 has: 'Let the oblation be offered by the deacons *to the bishop*,' and so EgCO 46, EthCO 35, with 'bring' for 'offer.' In the sense of celebrating the Eucharist deacons are said to be unable 'to offer' in AC viii. 28<sup>4</sup>, and so at Arles (can. 15\*) and Nicaea (can. 18). Indeed the verb 'to offer' used absolutely seems almost always to have this sense.

**3. Relationship of the Liturgies.** We may now consider how the Eucharistic Liturgies given in the Table on p. 40 f. are connected with one another. It seems clear that the Test compiler had before him, for the portion from the Offertory to the end of the Invocation, a liturgy almost if not quite identical with that of H<sub>3</sub>. He has treated his materials very freely; having, for example, added a long preamble to the Eucharistic Thanksgiving (as he added a preamble to the bishop's ordination prayer, p. 77), and having inserted many phrases in it, all in his own style. His Epiclesis is addressed to the Holy Trinity, see above, p. 44 f. There is an interesting development in the brief Intercession for the Church after the Eucharistic Thanksgiving; the Intercession is wholly wanting in H<sub>3</sub> and EthCO. There can be no doubt that the Test liturgy is later than both these.

There are no signs of direct connexion between the Test and AC liturgies. But AC throughout shows by far the greater development. Except in the prayer said in Test by the communicant at

\* This canon says that many deacons actually did attempt to celebrate the Eucharist. In the fourth century deacons were pressing their claims.

the time of reception (which seems to have been entirely the invention of the compiler of that work), every detail in Test is less developed than the corresponding one of AC.

The question of the relation of the liturgies in EthCO ( $H_3$ ) and AC is raised by Funk (*DidCA* ii. p. xxi, *TUH* 140 ff.). He assigns the priority to AC, which he believes to be the parent of EthCO and the grandparent of Test. He takes the shortness of the liturgy in EthCO as compared with AC to be due to omission. Let us therefore compare these liturgies.

In EthCO and  $H_3$  we go straight from the ordination of a bishop to the Offertory. AC interposes a large mass of material with set forms, which doubtless represent in outline preexisting practice, but which seem to be emerging in AC from a fluid or oral to a more fixed condition. The Sursum Corda in EthCO is prefaced by the salutation 'The Lord be with you all,' almost exactly as CH, Test,  $H_3$ , and the later Egyptian and the Roman liturgies; while in AC it is prefaced by 2 Co. xiii. 14 as in St Chrysostom's Antiochene writings, and in the later Antiochene, East Syrian, and Byzantine liturgies, and in the Mozarabic (for details see Cooper-Maclean p. 169). The Eucharistic Thanksgiving in EthCO and  $H_3$  is very short; it goes straight to the passage which speaks of the sending of the Son by the Father; AC prefixes a very long preamble in its own style, referring copiously to OT and to the angels, and gives the Sanctus. There is apparently no literary connexion, other than the use

of a common Christian vocabulary and a common knowledge of the Gospels, between the two forms down to the end of the account of the Last Supper. Funk has placed extracts in parallel columns (*TUH* 144) which show how *unlike* they are. Note also that EthCO and H do not introduce 1 Co. xi. 26 as part of our Lord's words, whereas AC does so\*.

In the Epiclesis, however, there is a certain relation. The forms are :

ETHCO (Horner p. 140).

Remembering therefore thy death and thy resurrection, we offer to thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks to thee because thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee and minister as priests to thee. *We pray to thee Lord, and we beseech thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon this oblation of the Church, that in joining (them) together thou mayest grant to them, to all of them, to them who take of it, that it may be to them for holiness and for filling (them) with the Holy Spirit, and for strengthening of faith in truth, that thee they may glorify and praise through thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom to thee be glory and might in the holy Church*

AC viii. 12<sup>38</sup>.

Remembering therefore his *passion and death and resurrection from the dead and return into heaven and his future second parousia when he cometh with glory and power to judge the quick and the dead and to give to each one according to his works*, we offer to thee, King and God, according to his command this bread and this cup, giving thanks to thee *through him* because thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee and minister as priests to thee. And we beseech thee *to look graciously on these gifts lying before thee, thou, O God, who needest naught, and to be well pleased with them to the honour of thy Christ, and to send down thy Holy Spirit the*

\* So (in different ways) do Test and many later liturgies. Cf. also the North-Italian *de Sacramentis* iv. 5, 6 (c. A.D. 400); and Maximus of Turin (c. A.D. 450): 'Sicut ipse [sc. Dominus] ait: Quotiescunque hoc feceritis, mortem meam annuntiabitis donec veniam' (Migne *Patr. Lat.* lvii. 690). For the Ambrosian and Mozarabic forms see Duchesne *Christian Worship* p. 216 (Eng. tr.); and for others Cooper-Maclean p. 172.

*now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.*

[The H<sub>3</sub> Epiclesis is almost identical.]

*Note.* There is apparently an Invocation of the *Holy Spirit* in Didasc, but the form is not given (H<sub>1</sub> p. 80, cf. p. 85).

*witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus upon this sacrifice that he may constitute (or declare, ἀποφῆνῃ) this bread the body of thy Christ and this cup the blood of thy Christ, that they who partake of it may be strengthened in godliness, may receive forgiveness of sins, may be delivered from the devil and his deceit, may be filled with the Holy Spirit, may become worthy of thy Christ, may receive eternal life, thou being reconciled to them, O Master Almighty.*

Here AC shows by far the greater development. The compiler seems to have taken the EthCO form (or one very like it but lacking the doxology) and to have practically incorporated it entire in his form, adding characteristic phrases of his own. Of these phrases we may note: (1) 'O God who needest naught...well pleased with them,' cf. vi. 20<sup>4, 5</sup>; (2) 'witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus,' cf. v. 1<sup>2</sup>; (3) 'may receive (τύχῳσι) forgiveness of sins,' cf. ii. 18<sup>5</sup>; (4) 'may become worthy of thy Christ, may receive eternal life'; these are found in the Compiler's writings elsewhere than in the Epiclesis; the second, a most striking phrase, being also found in another context in Pseudo-Ignatius *Rom.* 2, and the fourth (both clauses) in substance in *Philad.* 3 (cf. *Smyrn.* 6); see *LEW* p. xli f.; for Pseudo-Ignatius see below, p. 124.

Side by side with this development of the Epiclesis we may put the greatly developed Intercession for the Church which immediately follows in AC. As

we have seen, this feature is wholly wanting in EthCO.

There is however one point adduced by Funk (*TUH* p. 58) which quite possibly indicates priority in AC. The answer to the *Sancta Sanctis* (i.e. 'Holy things to holy persons') in AC is 'One holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father thou art blessed for ever, Amen' (viii. 13<sup>13</sup>), while in EthCO 22 it is 'One holy Father, one holy Son, one is the Holy Spirit.' Funk says that the former is the earlier phraseology. The question is much the same as in the case of the doxologies to the prayers (below, p. 124 ff.). But we need not consider it here, for we have already (p. 39) seen reason to believe that this portion of the Liturgy is a later addition to EthCO.

The probable deduction from the evidence, in the opinion of the present writer, is that neither of the two compilers had the other's work before him, but that the AC compiler used a liturgy very like EthCO *for the Epiclesis*. Or a still more probable hypothesis may be hazarded. Considering that so many of the descriptions of the Liturgies have rather full details about the Invocation (e.g. SEC 65, EthS 53, Cyr. Jer. *CL* xxiii. 7, Chrys. *de Sacerd.* iii. 4, § 179 etc.) it is not impossible that this was one of the very first parts of the service that were written down. If the common rubrical scheme which underlies the Liturgies of the Church Orders was a document rather than an oral tradition, it is quite probable that it had a written Epiclesis, even though that Epiclesis was not regarded as being so authoritative that it could not be changed.

Whether the AC compiler had any source before

him other than such a rubrical scheme it is difficult to say. For theories of Probst and others see Brightman *LEW* p. xliii ff.

4. **The Liturgy in Sarapion.** In this sacramentary we have several pro-anaphoral prayers: the 'first prayer of the Lord's day' (19); prayers after the sermon, for the people and the catechumens (20 f.); and a benediction of the catechumens (28). There is no mention of any dismissal of penitents (cf. Test) as in AC. The prayers of the faithful follow; a litany was probably said (not given), and the bishop would 'complete the prayer' (cf. Test) with several collects: for the people, for the sick, for fruitfulness, for the Church, for the bishop and clergy, for solitaries and virgins, for the married, for children, etc. (22—27, 29 f.). The list of clergy includes subdeacons, readers and interpreters.

Then would doubtless come the Kiss of peace, the Offertory, and Sursum Corda, which are not mentioned. But we have the Eucharistic Thanksgiving (1—4, ἐὺχὴ προσφόρου Σαραπίωνος ἐπισκόπου). This begins with 'It is meet and right to praise, hymn, and glorify thee, the uncreated Father of the only-begotten Jesus Christ.' It refers to the angelic hierarchy, and introduces the Sanctus; then mention is made of the 'bloodless oblation' to God (cf. p. 48 above), and the narrative of the Last Supper is given, the oblation being joined with it. The command 'Do this' is omitted, and so consequently are the words 'Remembering therefore.' The Invocation of *the Logos* follows, praying the Father that the Word



may come upon (ἐπιδημησάτω\*) the bread 'that it may become body of the Word,' and upon the cup 'that it may become blood of the Truth'; and that all who partake may receive a medicine of life etc. The Epiclesis ends: 'We have invoked thee, the Uncreated, through the Only-begotten in Holy Spirit' (ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι). An intercession for the living and departed (including a recitation or ὑποβολή of the names of the departed) and for those who have made offerings follows the Epiclesis. The last sentence (ascribed by Brightman to the people) is: 'As it was and is and shall be to generations of generations and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.' Then the *fraction is mentioned*, and in connexion with it a prayer for the communicants is given; and after the communion of the clergy we have a benediction (χειροθεσία) of the laity, and after the communion of the laity a thanksgiving prayer. A prayer or blessing of oil and water (5) follows, and a 'benediction (χειροθεσία) of the people after the blessing (εὐλογία) of water and oil' (6). Except for the headings of the prayers, there are no rubrics, and only the bishop's part is given. The wording of the prayers seems to be quite independent of the Church Orders.

**5. Days for the Eucharist.** Sunday, in the earlier period covered by our literature, seems to have been the only day for the liturgy, as in D 14, Didasc ii. 59 (H<sub>1</sub> p. 44), ApCO 19†, and apparently in

\* ἐπιδημία is used in Sar for the Incarnation.

† EthS 15 alters the phrase to: 'who is quick to go every day to the church.'

EdCan 2 (which mentions the Sunday Eucharist expressly, whereas the assembly on Wednesdays and Fridays seems to have been only for prayer). Brightman (*JThSt* i. 92) thinks that this appropriation of the Eucharist to Sunday is implied by the title of Sar 19, 'The first prayer of the Lord's day.' So also in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 67), and Pliny (*Ep.* 96; his 'fixed day' was doubtless Sunday); and even Athanasius (*Apol. c. Arian.* 11) speaks of a certain event happening on a day which 'was not the Lord's day' and 'did not require the use of' the sacred office—language which may perhaps exclude the celebration of the Eucharist on a week day, at any rate as a general rule (cf. Acts xx. 7). We have evidence, however, even at an early date, of a more extended use of the Eucharist. Tertullian expressly mentions a Eucharist on Wednesdays and Fridays, 'station days' (*de Orat.* 19). Cyprian alludes to a daily Eucharist in Africa (*Ep.* lvii. [liii.] 3: 'we, as priests who daily celebrate the sacrifices of God') and advocates daily reception (*de Orat. Dom.* 18). In CH xxxvii. 201 the bishop may celebrate the Eucharist when he pleases. One caution in reviewing the witness of Christian antiquity on this subject must be borne in mind. As reservation of the sacrament was commonly practised, especially in Egypt (cf. Tertull. *de Orat.* 19, *ad Uxor.* ii. 5, Ambrose *Orat. de excessu fratris Satyri* i. 43, Basil, *Ep.* xciii. *ad Caesariam*, etc.), the mention of reception on certain days does not necessarily mean that there were Eucharists on those days. Thus Basil (*loc. cit.*)



says that he communicated four times a week (or oftener if a Saint's day fell in the week), though some communicated daily; Test ii. 25 (though elsewhere, in i. 22, it *forbids* a daily Eucharist) advises the Christian believer to 'take care that before he eat he partake of the Eucharist, that he may be incapable of receiving injury.' The || EgCO 58, EthCO 44 only deal with days when there is an Eucharist.

In the fourth century and later Saturday and Sunday were special days for the Eucharist. In Test i. 22 the Liturgy is to be celebrated only on Saturday and [the text has 'or' but this seems to be a corruption] Sunday and on a fast day. So ArD 38 says 'Saturday and Sunday...and on festivals which fall in the week'; but if a festival fall on the two fast days, Wednesday and Friday, they are to pray and receive the holy mysteries, but not to break the fast till the ninth hour. Saturday and Sunday Eucharists are hinted at in AC ii. 59<sup>3</sup>, which provides for daily public services, but says that these two days are to be specially observed; Saturday is a festival as the commemoration of the Creation, Sunday as that of the Resurrection (vii. 23<sup>3</sup>). EthD 10 developes the former passage by calling Saturday 'the Jewish sabbath' and the Lord's day 'the Christian sabbath.' In these manuals the provision for a Saturday Eucharist betrays a post-Nicene date. Socrates (*HE* v. 22) says that in his time (c. A.D. 440) Saturday Eucharists were almost universal except at Alexandria and Rome where, 'on account of some ancient tradition' they had ceased. He adds that some other

Egyptians celebrated the Eucharist on Saturdays, apparently after an Agape (see further *DCG* i. 254 f., *ERE* i. 172). Yet in A.D. 380 there was a Saturday Eucharist at Alexandria (Timoth. Alex. *Resp. Can.* in Migne, *P. G.* xxxiii. 1306). Cassian (*Inst.* iii. 2) speaks of it in Egypt; and the Council of Laodicea in Phrygia, as far as Lent is concerned. This council (c. A.D. 380) forbids Christians to Judaize and abstain from work on Saturday (can. 29; AC viii. 33<sup>2</sup> says the exact opposite). In Lent, however, Saturday and Sunday are the *only* liturgical days, and no feasts of martyrs are to be observed in Lent except on these two days (can. 49, 51; so Trullan Council can. 52). Pseudo-Pionius in his fourth-century *Life of Polycarp* 23 (Lightfoot *Ignatius* iii. 455) speaks of the Eucharist 'on the Sabbath and on the Lord's day.' In the *Acts of Pionius*, which are probably genuine (A.D. 250), the real Pionius tastes the holy bread and water on the day of his martyrdom, a Saturday, but this was probably an Agape (§ 3, Ruinart *Acta Sincera*, ed. 2, p. 140). St Augustine says that in his day some celebrated the Eucharist daily, some on Saturday and Sunday only, and some on Sunday only (*Ep.* liv. Ben. *ad Januarium*, 2). Pseudo-Hippolytus in *Prov.* ix. 1 speaks of a daily Eucharist; but the date and authorship of this work are uncertain (*DCB* iii. 103).

Maundy Thursday Eucharists are first found in the latter half of the fourth century; in Test ii. 11 and 'Silvia' (both apparently in the evening), and at the third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397 (can. 29).

Augustine (*Ep.* liv. 9) speaks of the Eucharist on this day (see further *DCG* i. 260).

No religious rites at marriages are mentioned in the Church Orders; Tertullian mentions the 'Oblation' and the 'Benediction' at a Christian marriage (*ad Uxor.* ii. 8). A Benediction seems to be implied in Ignatius *Polyc.* 5.

**6. Daily prayers.** Daily public service for all men was a comparatively late development; it did not immediately follow even when persecution ceased. In D, Didasc, ApCO (above, p. 55) Sunday is the only day mentioned for the Christian assembly. In EgCO 60, EthCO 46 we find a morning daily prayer assembly for the *clergy* who meet the bishop to talk over the day's work; perhaps a phrase about 'giving information to' (Eg) or 'instructing' (Eth) those who are in the church points to some of the laity being present; so more plainly EgCO-arab (Horner p. 262). The || CH xxi. 217 f. turns this into a public daily prayer meeting at cockcrow for 'presbyters and subdeacons [see below, p. 82] and readers and *all the people*'; but xxvi. 231 has an older flavour, speaking of the duty of going to church 'on all days when there are prayers.' Test (i. 32) does not go quite so far as EgCO, for though it provides fixed daily prayers for the presbyters, no hour is stated for them, but each presbyter says them 'at his own time,' though he is evidently meant to get some of the faithful to respond. The same thing is true with regard to the prayers appointed for use by the 'widows who sit in front' (i. 42 f.; see below, p. 83 f.).

At midnight the clergy and 'those of the people who are more perfect' give praise by themselves (i. 32). A public service 'at the lamplighting' is spoken of in Test ii. 11, but this appears to refer only to Pascha. The daily service is greatly developed in AC. The laity are very expressly bidden to attend prayers with the clergy twice daily, at dawn and in the evening (the 'lamplighting'), and Ps. lxii. is appointed for the former, Ps. cxl. for the latter service (ii. 59, interpolated into || Didasc). In AC viii. 35—39 we have an order of service with fixed prayers; canticles are given in vii. 47—49 (but see p. 29 above). EdCan 19 implies public service at least once daily. St Basil seems to refer to a daily prayer meeting at the 'lamplighting' (*de Spir. S.* xxix. [73]). Socrates (*HE* v. 22) speaks of expositions of Scripture at the 'lamplighting' in some places. With the rise of religious communities daily service developed. In the treatise *de Virginitate* (c. A.D. 390?)\* we find fixed psalms, Nunc Dimittis, Benedicite. 'Silvia' describes daily public services at Jerusalem during her visit, with psalms, hymns, litanies, and prayers, but no lections. Later, c. A.D. 420, Cassian gives an elaborate account of the monastic 'hours of prayer' (*Inst.* ii., iii.).

Although the Church Orders show a somewhat slow development in this respect, most of them prescribe private prayers at fixed hours. We find seven such hours of prayer in EgCO 62, EthCO 48, H<sub>3</sub> p. 119

\* The Athanasian authorship is defended by Von der Goltz in *Texte und Untersuchungen* xiv. 2a. He suggests the date 320—340.

(probably, but this is a fragment), Test ii. 24; on rising, at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, before going to bed, at midnight, and at cockcrow (Test by error has 'dawn' a second time instead of 'cockcrow'). In connexion with the midnight prayer we have a reference to the Benedicite in EthCO and H, and it is developed in Test, though there not specially associated with the midnight prayer. Probably this canticle was used at that hour. CH xxv. ff. 223—5, 233—245 has the same hours of prayer (and the reference to the Benedicite) but apparently adds an eighth. It has 'at sunset...then at the lamp lighting' for the fifth hour of prayer. Achelis looks on the last five words as an interpolation, as the lamp-lighting and sunset prayer would be the same; but Funk denies this. It may be suspected that the words are genuine, but that 'then' is a mistake which has arisen in the course of the various translations through which we know CH; probably the 'lamp-lighting' is an *explanation* of 'sunset,' and does not involve an additional hour of prayer. It is noteworthy that AC viii. 34 has *six* hours of prayer only; it omits the midnight hour and the reference to the Benedicite. Funk (*TUH* p. 55 f.) marks this as a sign of priority in AC, as hours of prayer showed a tendency to increase. Cyprian (*de Orat. Dom.* 34 ff.) mentions six hours (not five, as Funk): morning, the third, sixth, and ninth hours, 'at the sunseting and at the decline of day' (cf. CH), and 'even during the night.' The last is perhaps only expected of the more earnest. There does not here seem to be any

sign of priority in AC, as compared with EgCO etc. Is the omission of the difficult midnight hour due to the less ascetic tone of AC? It would be a compensation for the *addition* of the two public daily prayer meetings which it makes binding on the laity.

These private prayers might take place either in the home (when they would usually take the form of family worship), or in the church. AC viii. 34<sup>s</sup> speaks of the possibility of Christians not being able to go to church 'because of the unbelievers.' So || SEC 75, which bids the Bishop 'make the synaxes' (sah) or 'celebrate the Eucharist' (arab) in his house in such a case; and so EthS 69, which however does not refer to the Eucharist (Horner, pp. 215, 286, 355).

**7. The Agape and Funeral Commemorations.** The Church Orders do not add much to our knowledge on this head. In D the Agape and Holy Communion were apparently united under one name 'Eucharist\*.' The prayers given are probably 'graces' before and after the Agape, and the Eucharistic thanksgiving is not given, the prophets being allowed 'to give thanks as much as they desire'; that is, the Eucharistic worship was in the main extemporaneous. But this conclusion is much disputed; and for the various opinions reference may be made to the article 'Agape' in *ERE* i. 168 by the present writer, and to *DCB* iv. 807 (Salmon).

\* The verb *εὐχαριστεῖν* was often used of grace before meals; it clearly underlies the 'gave thanks' of *Clementine Recogn.* i. 19; cf. Mk. viii. 6, Jn. vi. 11, Ac. xxvii. 35, Ro. xiv. 6, etc.



In the later Church Orders the Agape and Eucharist are entirely distinct. The Agape in Didasc (and || AC ii. 28, EthD 6) is a feast given to old women (the poor and widows and orphans EthD); a portion is to be given to the bishop and the other clergy (see below, p. 86). In CH xxxiii. f. 169—179 and the parallel manuals (EgCO 48—52, EthCO 37—39, H<sub>3</sub> p. 113 f., Test ii. 13) we read of the Agape as an institution quite distinct from the Eucharist; in neither Agape nor Eucharist may the catechumens, still less the heathen, share\*. The bishop presides and exhorts, and gluttony and drunkenness are strictly forbidden. In EgCO and H (not EthCO) the Agape is called 'the Lord's supper.' EthCO speaks of 'the Lord's table.' In these manuals there is mention made of the supper to widows as a separate thing.

Further, there is some connexion between the custom of the Agape and the commemoration of the faithful departed. The passage in AC (viii. 44) which corresponds to those just given refers only to these commemorative feasts; a prayer for the departed immediately precedes (§41). And CH xxxiii. 169 f. has this direction: 'If there is a memorial of the departed, before they sit (at meat) let them par-

\* So in D 9 only the baptized may partake of the 'Eucharist'; and in *Clem. Recogn.* i. 19, ii. 71, Peter expressly excludes all unbaptized persons, even Clement, from eating with him, because they are 'not free from an unclean spirit.' For the exclusion of catechumens and heathen from the Eucharist, see *e.g.* Athanasius *Apol. c. Arian.* 11. The exclusion is doubtless based on Ex. xii. 45.

take of the mysteries, though not on the first day of the week. After the oblation let the bread of exorcism (above, p. 18) be distributed to them before they sit down.' This precedes the regulations for the Sunday Agape. Offerings for the dead are mentioned in Tertullian *de Cor.* 3. And at funerals hymns and prayers were used (EthD 38 in Ludolf's table of contents, above, p. 33; AC vi. 30<sup>2</sup>), but the only form given is in Sar 18 which is a prayer 'for one who is dead and is being carried forth' (ἐκκομιζομένου); it seems to have been said in the house. Commemorative Eucharists are referred to in AC vi. 30<sup>2</sup> and in || Didasc (Funk *DidCA* i. 376, H<sub>1</sub> p. 85). AC viii. 42 gives directions for observing the 'third day of the departed' with psalms and lections and prayers, also the ninth and fortieth [one MS 'thirtieth'] days and the anniversary; alms are to be given to the poor from the goods of the deceased as a memorial of him. So || SEC 76 but with 'seventh' for 'ninth' and with 'a month' for the 'fortieth day.' EthS 70 agrees with SEC but gives *both* 'a month' *and* 'the fortieth day' and adds a commemoration after six months. For martyrs' anniversaries see below, p. 129 f.

8. **Clerical Vestments.** These are referred to in CH xxxvii. 201—3. The presbyters and deacons are to wear 'white vestments more beautiful than all the people, very splendid' when the bishop celebrates the Eucharist. Even the readers are to wear festal garments. In Test i. 34 the deacon who is in charge



of the guest-house is to be 'clothed in white garments, a stole only on his shoulder'; but this is not in church—the vestments are a badge of office. This is probably the first mention of a stole (the word used is *ὠπάριον*, *orarium*, transliterated into Syriac)!; the other early reference to it is c. A.D. 380 at Laodicea (can. 22 f.) where the subdeacon (*ὑπηρέτης*) is forbidden to wear it and to leave his place at the door, and the readers and singers are also forbidden to wear it or to read and sing with it on. At Laodicea the reference is to the stole used in service by a large number of people. In Test it is, apparently, restricted to *one* of the deacons; and this is an indication that that Church Order is of an earlier date than the Council. On the stole see further in *DCA* ii. 1934 ff.

NOTE. It is interesting to compare the liturgies of the Church Orders with the *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* lately published by Dom Connolly ('Texts and Studies' viii. 1). These belong to the latter half of the fifth century. One of the homilies describes the Eucharist, but it is not too much to say that it breathes an atmosphere widely removed from that of the Church Orders. The ceremonial and liturgical development is great. Much is made of the vestments of the clergy (including stoles), of lights, incense, fans, bowings and genuflexions (which are forbidden after the Epiclesis); the Creed is introduced into the service, and this is one of the very first instances of the introduction. We find in Narsai the same general scheme as in the present East Syrian liturgies, in which the Narrative of the Last Supper is followed by the Intercession (in Narsai a very long one, expressly said to be fashioned on 'Mar Nestorius,' i.e., probably, on the original of the East Syrian liturgy so named),

and the Intercession by the Invocation, which is of the explicit form and appears (though this may be doubtful) to be addressed to the Holy Ghost, instead of to the Father. On the other hand no sanctuary veil and no litany are mentioned. The description probably presupposes the existence, at least in an early form, of the three present East Syrian liturgies ('Addai and Mari,' 'Theodore,' 'Nestorius'). All this points to the conclusion that the Church Orders belong to a time considerably before Narsai.

## CHAPTER V

### THE MINISTRY AND ORDINATION

1. **Bishops, presbyters, deacons.** In D the organisation of the ministry closely resembles that of NT. There is a local ministry of bishops and deacons (§ 15), chosen by the people especially for Sunday worship ('On the Lord's own day assemble....Appoint for yourselves *therefore* bishops and deacons'); presbyters are not mentioned. In addition, there is an itinerant ministry of 'apostles' and 'prophets' (§ 11). This is a decisive argument for the very early date of this manual. The possibility of the prophet settling in the place is contemplated\*; this is perhaps a step towards a localised (monarchical) episcopate (§ 13). The prophets instruct; they are 'your high priests†'; they 'speak in the Spirit'; at the Eucharist they 'give thanks as much as they

\* If there is no prophet, D says that firstfruits are to be given to the poor. In *Hermas* the prophets have apparently become subordinate to the presbyters (*e.g.* *Vis.* iii. 1).

† The name 'high priest' for bishops is common, *e.g.* AC ii. 26 (and || *Didasc* and *EthD* 6), vii. 42<sup>2</sup> (some MSS), viii. 11<sup>1</sup>, 12<sup>4</sup>, etc. (cf. viii. 5<sup>6</sup> and || *Const H*, ἀρχιερατεύειν, in bishop's ordination prayer); CH xxiv. 200; EgCO 56; SEC 65; *EthCO* 42; *Test ii.* 21; *H<sub>3</sub>* p. 105. Cf. *Test i.* 21 (ordination prayer), *EthS* 53.

will,' *i.e.* their utterance is unrestrained (§ 10)\*. The functions of the 'apostle' are not defined. Perhaps the word is used in the sense of a delegate or messenger from other churches as in 2 Co. viii. 23, Ph. ii. 25.—The primitive features of D are removed in the parallel portions of AC vii.

The other Church Orders have bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The Bishop is the ruler—in EdCan 5, 17 he is called 'the Guide' (Dûqâ = dux); he is the shepherd† of the sheep; he is the normal president of Christian worship, and celebrates the Eucharist when he is present, though the presbyter is expressly recognised as being capable of celebrating it (AC iii. 20<sup>2</sup>, vii. 26<sup>6</sup> [where 'presbyter' takes the place of the 'prophet' of ||D 10], EthD 16, Test i. 31); he confirms, and he alone ordains, a presbyter being forbidden to ordain even the minor orders (AC iii. 11<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>2</sup>, EthD 14, CH iv. 32).

The deacon, on the other hand, is 'ordained not to the priesthood, but to minister to the bishop and the Church' (Test i. 38, cf. EgCO 33, EthCO 24, H<sub>3</sub> p. 109). The Council of Nicaea says that he is the ἐπηρέτης of the bishop (can. 18). CH v. 33 f. says that he does not belong to the *presbyterate*, but that he is to minister to the bishop *and presbyters* and to the sick.

\* So in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 67), after the Offertory the president 'offers prayers and thanksgivings' (*i.e.* the Eucharistic Thanksgiving) 'as far as he is able' (ὡς ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ).

† The name 'shepherd' used *absolutely* as a title for the bishop (apart from the metaphor of the flock) is not common, but is found in ApCO 18 (cf. 22 syr, lat), AC ii. 1<sup>1</sup> 28<sup>2</sup> 42<sup>1</sup> 43<sup>3</sup> (the first and two last also in || Didasc) and frequently in Test.

So in AC ii. 26<sup>5</sup>, 30 ff., iii. 19 f. and || Didasc iii. 13, EthD 16. The 'Gallican Statutes' (§ 4; Wordsworth, *MG* p. 166) say that the deacon is not consecrated to the *sacerdotium*, but for *ministerium*. In AC viii. 46<sup>11</sup> he is expressly forbidden to celebrate the Eucharist. The Church Orders show that deacons were pressing their claims; almost all (except Test which is enthusiastic about both deacons\* and widows) have regulations intended to repress their claims.

There are some interesting indications of the relative positions of presbyters and bishops in the Church Orders. In all of them (after D) the bishop is supreme; the presbyters are his counsellors and sit in judgment with him (AC ii. 28<sup>4</sup>, and || Didasc, H<sub>1</sub> p. 39 f.; cf. Ignatius *passim*). Yet in some of these manuals there are traces of a closer relation. In CH iv. 30—32 the presbyter is to be ordained with the same prayer as a bishop except that the words 'bishop,' 'episcopate,' are to be altered to 'presbyter,' 'presbyterate,' and enthronisation is to be omitted. 'The bishop in all things is to be put on an equality with the presbyter except in the name of the chair (cathedrae) and in ordination, for the power of ordaining is not given to him' (the presbyter). With this we may compare the direction in CH ii. 10 that 'one of the bishops and presbyters (unus ex episcopis et presbyteris) is to lay hands on a bishop-

\* Contrast Test i. 34, which calls the deacon the 'counsellor of the whole clergy,' with EgCO 33, EthCO 24, H<sub>3</sub> p. 109, which say the exact opposite.

elect and to say the prayer over him.' The meaning seems to be: 'one of those who have both the episcopate and the presbyterate'; for in CH iv. 32 a presbyter is said not to have power to ordain. The earlier section therefore cannot contemplate the case of a simple presbyter ordaining a bishop-elect. There is hardly enough here to prove that CH belongs to the time of Hippolytus or earlier, for Jerome has almost the same expression: 'What does a bishop that a presbyter does not, except ordination?' (*Ep. cxlvi. ad Evangelum* 1). But, without entering on the disputed question of the origin of the episcopate, we may remark that there is little doubt that the direction to use the same prayer for bishop and presbyter is an archaic feature, and goes a long way to prove the priority of those manuals which have it to those which have it not. It would be extremely unlikely that a compiler who found two separate prayers in his sources would go out of his way to suppress one of them. The direction in EgCO-sah 32 for the ordination of presbyters is: 'Let him [the bishop] pray over him according to the form which we said for the bishop.' The Arabic translation has: 'He prays over him according to the pattern which we have said concerning the bishop' (Horner, pp. 307, 245). This would seem to mean the same thing as CH, that the same form was to be used for bishop and presbyter. But Funk (*TUH* p. 45) disputes this. EthCO 23 (the parallel passage) has: 'In the form which we said before he shall pray, saying...', and gives a separate ordination prayer for the

presbyter ; so H<sub>3</sub> (p. 108) has : ‘et dicat secundum ea quae praedicta sunt, sicut praediximus super episcopum, orans et dicens,’ and adds the separate prayer. From this Funk deduces the conclusion that EgCO (which contains no ordination prayers at all) does not exclude, but rather implies, the use of a separate prayer for presbyters. But this view is made very improbable by the phrase used. It is much more likely that EthCO (which perhaps was the first to make the change) took over the reference to bishops from the older form in its source, and then rather awkwardly added a separate prayer to it.

The ordination prayer for presbyters in EthCO and H (which closely agree) is very simple, and refers to Moses’ elders. The only function of a presbyter which is mentioned is ruling. Separate prayers are also found in Test i. 30 (developed from H<sub>3</sub>), AC viii. 16 and ConstH 6 (mentioning priestly duties, *ιερουργίας*, on behalf of the people), Sar 13 (referring to the function of reconciliation).—In EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>, Test, the presbyters also lay hands on, or touch, the candidate ; but this is not mentioned in AC, which only says that the presbyters and deacons are present.

Ordination prayers for deacons are given in CH v. 39—42, EthCO 24, H<sub>3</sub> p. 110 (a fragment), Test i. 38, AC viii. 17, Sar 12. Those in EthCO and H<sub>3</sub> are practically the same (as far as H goes) ; that in Test is clearly derived from them. Those in CH, AC, Sar, seem to be quite independent of them and of one another, except that CH and AC both refer to



Stephen, while Sar refers to the seven 'deacons' of Acts vi.

**Archdeacons** (ἀρχιδιάκονοι) are not heard of by name till the end of the fourth century, when we find them in 'Silvia.' The name there, however, does not seem to denote a separate office, but is given to the deacon whose duty it is to call people to prayer. So in Test i. 19, 34 there is a 'chief deacon,' not one of a separate order, but selected from the other deacons to be guest-master and to help the priest to write the names of those who make offerings. ArD does not mention the chief deacon in the parallel passage. It is not probable that the word ἀρχιδιάκονος was used in the Greek original of Test, for Jacob of Edessa in translating the book into Syriac does not use the usual Syriac transliteration of the word, but translates by the phrase 'chief of the deacons.'

**Chorepiscopi** are not mentioned in the Church Orders. But EdCan 24 apparently alludes to them in the injunction that a Ruler is to be appointed as head over village presbyters.

**Metropolitans** also are not found in them. Although the neighbouring bishops are said to attend at an episcopal election, there is not much trace of the existence of ecclesiastical provinces (for ApCO see below p. 171). This is natural enough in the fourth century, when provincial organisation was only just beginning; but it would be difficult to explain at a later date. We may, as it is, perhaps

make the deduction that none of these manuals came from great centres like Alexandria and Antioch. The name 'metropolitan' is found at Nicaea (can. 6), and Laodicea (can. 12); cf. Antioch in *Encaen.* (can. 19). There is just a trace of a primacy in ArD 36 where the 'first bishop among them' says the ordination prayer (cf. AC viii. 4<sup>6</sup>, 'one of the first bishops'). A similar but fainter trace in EgCO-boh 31 (Tattam p. 32) is shown by the Sahidic and Arabic versions to be a mistake. 'They request (axiou = ἀξιόῦσι) one of the bishops' [to lay on hands and pray] has become in the Bohairic 'He who is *worthy* (ἀξίος) out of the bishops,' etc.

**2. Ordination of a bishop.** The ordination or consecration to the episcopate (there is no difference of nomenclature at this early period) takes a very simple form in these manuals. A prayer is said by one or more bishops, with laying on of hands; the new bishop, being then placed in his throne, receives from all the kiss of peace, and himself proceeds to celebrate the Eucharist. At least three bishops must attend; see AC iii. 20<sup>1</sup> ('or at least two') EthD 16, ApCan 1 ('two or three'), Nicaea can. 4. AC viii. 27<sup>3</sup> says that if because of persecution or any similar cause only one bishop may be had, he must have authority from several bishops. The real significance of the attendance of these bishops is that they come to assent to the election; probably the idea of securing validity for the ordination in case of any defect in one of the consecrators

had not arisen at this date. The bishops assist in the ceremony, but as a rule only one, chosen by the others, says the prayer (so CH ii. 10, where only one lays on a hand; EgCO 31 and H<sub>3</sub> p. 103, where all have *previously* laid on hands and then one again does so alone). But in EthCO 22 all lay on hands and all say the prayer. In Test i. 21 they all lay on hands and say a declaration, and then one bishop lays on hands and says the prayer; ArD 36 is similar. In AC viii. 4<sup>6</sup> one of the principal bishops standing near the altar with two others, says the prayer, the other bishops and the presbyters praying in silence, and the deacons holding the Gospels over the new bishop's head. But it is not certain what the three bishops do. Laying on of hands is not expressly mentioned. Yet from the analogy of the other Church Orders and from the other ordinations of AC, all of which mention imposition of hands, it is probable that the three bishops lay on hands; and from the fact that the *other* bishops are expressly told to keep silence, it is not unlikely that all three join in saying the prayer. As Sarapion gives us hardly any rubrical directions the usage in his diocese is uncertain.

The **ordination prayer** for a bishop is very nearly the same in CH, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>, and ConstH. It is short and simple. The functions mentioned are, visiting and feeding the people, offering the gifts of the congregation (the Eucharist), absolution, exorcising and healing (CH), and 'reconciling' God's face

(ConstH, H<sub>3</sub>). The prayer is given below, the words in italics being found in only one of the four authorities. [The form in H and EthCO is nearly the same as in ConstH, all but quite insignificant differences being given in the notes.]

## CH

O God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all comfort, who dwellest in the heights and lookest on humble things, who knowest all things before they are made; thou who hast constituted the bounds of the Church, by whose power it is that *from Adam* there should remain a just race *in the manner of this bishop who is great Abraham* (? *ratione hujus episcopi qui est magnus A.*), who hast constituted prelacies and principalities; *look on N.* thy servant, giving thy power and effectual Spirit, whom thou gavest through *our Lord Jesus Christ* thy only Son to thy holy Apostles who founded the Church in every place to the honour and glory of thy holy Name. Forasmuch as thou knowest (cognovisti) the

## CONSTH

O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God\* of all comfort, who dwellest in the heights and lookest on humble things, who knowest all things before they are made; thou who hast given the bounds of† the Church through the word of thy grace, who hast preordained the just race from the beginning from Abraham‡, who hast constituted rulers§ and priests, and hast not left thy sanctuary without a ministry, who from the foundation of the world wast well pleased to be glorified|| in those whom thou hast chosen, even now pour out the power proceeding from thee of thy ruling¶ Spirit whom thou gavest through thy beloved son Jesus Christ\*\* to thy holy Apostles†† who

\* Eth: Lord.

† Eth: an ordinance to.

‡ H: the race of the just, Abraham.

§ Eth: judges. H: princes.

|| H: preached (?).

¶ ἡγεμονικόν, from Ps. li. 12 LXX. Eth: holy.

\*\* H: gavest to thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, which he bestowed on the holy Apostles [Test, AC similar, ArD like ConstH].

†† Eth: gavest to thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, which thou grantest to us the holy Apostles thy helpers in thy Church (working) with the plough of thy cross, and in the place of thy sanctuary—to thee be glory, and praise unceasingly to thy Name.

## CH

## CONSTH

hearts of each one, grant to him that without sin *he may see thy people*, that he may be worthy to feed thy great and holy flock. *Cause also that his life (mores) may be an example (superiores) to all the people without any falling away, and that he may be envied by all for his excellency; and receive his prayers and offerings which he shall offer to thee day and night, and may they be to thee a sweet savour. Give also to him, O Lord, the episcopate, and a mild spirit, and power to forgive sins; and give him ability to loose all bonds of iniquity of demons, and to heal all diseases, and bruise Satan under his feet shortly, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom be glory to thee with him and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.*

founded the Church in the place of thy sanctuary\* to the unending glory and praise of thy Name. O thou† who knowest the hearts of all, grant‡ to this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen to thy holy episcopate, even§ to serve the highpriesthood to thee, without blame ministering night and day||, and unceasingly to reconcile¶ thy face and to offer to thee the gifts of thy holy Church, and to have in the high-priestly spirit power to forgive sins according to thy command, to give lots according to thy ordinance,\*\* and to loose every bond†† according to the power which thou gavest to the Apostles, and to please thee in mildness and a pure heart, offering to thee a sweet savour, through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord‡‡, with§§ whom be glory, might and honour to thee with the Holy Ghost|||, now and for ever and ever. Amen.

This short prayer is expanded in Test and AC.

\* H: in every place, even thy sanctuary.

† H inserts: Father.

‡ Eth inserts: the Holy Ghost.

§ Eth, H insert: to feed thy [holy, H] flock and.

|| Eth: day and night.

¶ Eth: supplicating worthily to see.

\*\* Eth: to give the ordination of thy ordinance.

†† Eth inserts: of iniquity.

‡‡ Eth, H omit: our Lord.

§§ Eth, H: through.

||| Eth: to Father, Son and Holy Ghost. H: to Father and Son with the Holy Ghost. Eth inserts: in thy holy Church.

Each has a long preamble before 'O God and Father,' quite independent of the other, and each in its own style; and each has several additional sentences, also independent, and also each in its own style, in the text of the prayer itself. Funk supposes that AC is the original of all the Orders, and that Test is derived from one of the EthCO type. This would mean, first, that a compiler of the EthCO type freely treated AC by omitting the preamble and long passages—those which are specially in the style of AC; then that other compilers followed suit, agreeing together in one short type of prayer, though not in exact verbal concurrence with one another; then that the Test compiler inserted into the resultant short form *another* preamble and long interpolations, both in his own style. All this is most improbable\*. Speaking generally, we may notice that in liturgical forms interpolation is *a priori* more likely than omission. They grew rather than diminished in length; and it may confidently be said, that the earlier the form, the simpler it is. In this particular case we must come to the conclusion that the simpler ordination prayer given above represents the original much better than the more complex forms of Test or AC, which are produced by enlargement and interpolation. Indeed we may (though very tentatively) reconstruct the original prayer by omitting all phrases in the form given above which are not common to all. And we may also probably conclude that in the Original,

\* Similarly the ordination prayer for a presbyter is shorter in ConstH than in AC.



the prayer for presbyters and for bishops was the same.

3. **Minor Orders.** There was a tendency to supplement the organisation of the ministry by offices which are additional, and (with one possible exception) inferior, to those of bishop, presbyter, and deacon. Most of the Church Orders draw a distinction between those offices that have, and those that have not, laying on of hands (*χειροθεσία*), which is commonly used only in the ordination of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. But ConstH extends it to deaconesses and subdeacons, and AC also to readers (see the Table, p. 15). Similarly St Basil (*Ep. can. tertia* cxxvii. 51) makes a clear distinction on these lines, A.D. 375. He says that lapsed clergy are ejected from the ministry, 'whether they be in orders (*ἐν βαθμῶ*, cf. ApCan 82), or remain in the ministry which is conferred without imposition of hands.' And in A.D. 341 the Council of Antioch in *Encaeniis* (can. 10) expressly uses *χειροτονεῖν*\* (though this word need not necessarily imply laying on of hands) of presbyters and deacons, but *καθιστᾶν* of readers, subdeacons, and exorcists, though the latter word *may* be used of any order from bishops downwards (*e.g.* AC iii. 20<sup>1</sup>, vi. 17<sup>1</sup>, viii. 17<sup>2</sup>, ApCO-sah 17, 20 f., EgCO 33, 35, 37; Sar 14 has *χειροθεσία καταστάσεως ἐπισκόπου*, and so for presbyters and deacons, § 12 f.: Sarapion has no benedictions of minor orders; for other instances see Brightman *JThSt* i. 273 f.). Epiphanius includes

\* For the meaning of *χειροτονία*, *χειροθεσία* in AC see below p. 153 ff.



the subdeacons in the *ἱερωσύνη*, but not readers: 'The reader is not a priest (*ἱερεύς*), but as it were a scribe (*γραμματεὺς*) of the word' (*Expos. Fid.* 21, ed. Petavius, i. 1104). At Laodicea, c. A.D. 380, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons are apparently placed in a class by themselves as *ἱερατικοί*; the rest are *κληρικοί* (can. 27, 30, etc.). But in AC iii. 15<sup>5</sup> the minor orders are included in the *ἱερατικοί* (so ApCan 63).

The natural conclusion from this is that at first these minor orders were not ordained with laying on of hands, but that ConstH made some advance in the case of subdeacons and deaconesses, and that AC went still further and added readers to those who were so ordained. But Funk (*DidCA* ii. p. xv, *TUH* 41, 52 f., 192 ff.) thinks that the process was the reverse; that laying on of hands for the minor orders was dropped, first partially by ConstH (which he regards as later than AC) and then wholly by the rest. He says that the Monophysites do not use laying on of hands for this purpose, while the Nestorians use it (Denzinger *Ritus Orientalium* ii. p. 228) for a reader [apparently not for a subdeacon, *ib.* p. 229]. Thus the older sect follows the usage of AC, the younger that of EgCO; and he deduces from this the priority of AC over EgCO. It is difficult to see the force of this argument. In the first place, though the Monophysites do not use the ordinary laying on of hands, the ordainer touches the temples of the reader or subdeacon (for the Copts see Denzinger ii. 3, 5; for the Syrian Jacobites see ii. 66 f.). And even if it were not so the deduction would not follow.

The Nestorians have more affinity to AC, the Monophysites to Test (which here follows the EgCO custom) for *doctrinal* reasons; and therefore no chronological deductions can be made one way or the other\*.

**4. Divisions of the Minor Orders.** Readers and 'widows' (with whom we may class deaconesses) seem to be the oldest of the minor orders. Subdeacons, singers, interpreters, doorkeepers, acolytes, exorcists, virgins (or ascetics, or solitaries), 'those with gifts' (charismata), appear in various parts of the world. But the last three are not properly orders at all, as is expressly said in several of the Church Orders; though exorcists are on the border line (they are 'appointed,' like readers and subdeacons, at Antioch in *Encaen.* can. 10; but the Church Orders look on them as charismatic, *e.g.* AC viii. 26).

**Acolytes** only appear in the West. Cornelius in his letter to Fabius of Antioch (Eusebius *HE* vi. 43<sup>11</sup>) says that there were then (A.D. 251) forty-two in Rome.

**Subdeacons** are also first mentioned at the same time and place. Cornelius (*loc. cit.*) mentions seven†. Cyprian (*Ep.* xxxiv. [xxvii.] 4) and Didasc ii. 34\*

\* For the question whether the text of ConstH about a reader shows signs of being an alteration of AC, see below, p. 153 f.

† In Cornelius' list there are '36 (or 46) presbyters, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, 42 acolytes, 52 exorcists, readers and doorkeepers, and over 1500 widows and persons in distress.' Test (i. 34) has 12

(*DidCA* i. p. 116, *H*<sub>1</sub> p. 40, Gibson p. 51) also mention subdeacons; and they are the only minor order mentioned at Elvira in Spain, *c.* A.D. 305 (can. 30). The reference in *Didasc* is perhaps an interpolation, for otherwise they are not found in the East till the fourth century. They are not mentioned in *ApCO*, and Eusebius apparently does not recognise them as existing in the persecution of his own time in the East (*HE* viii. 6<sup>9</sup>). At Neocaesarea in Cappadocia (*c.* A.D. 320?) a subdeacon is called a 'minister,' ὑπηρέτης (can. 10); an offending deacon is to be degraded to the rank of a 'minister.' This name is also found at Laodicea (can. 20 ff.), and in *AC* (iii. 11<sup>4,5</sup>, vi. 17<sup>2</sup>, viii. 28<sup>8</sup>, cf. ὑπηρεσία viii. 10<sup>9</sup>; in ii. 28<sup>6</sup> and apparently in || *Didasc* it is used of deacons). The name ὑποδιάκονος is found at Antioch in *Encaen.* (can. 10), in *Sar* 25, and in Athanasius *Hist. Arian.* 'ad monachos,' § 60 (ὑποδιάκονον...ὑπηρετοῦντα). Subdeacons are found in *EgCO*, *EthCO*, *H*<sub>3</sub> (p. 116), *Test*, *ConstH*, *AC*; and also in *EdCan* 5, where in an apparently exhaustive list no other minor order is mentioned. They are found in our present text of *CH*, but Achelis thinks they are interpolated. In

presbyters, 7 deacons, 14 subdeacons, 13 widows 'who sit in front.' *ApCO* (18 ff.) has 3 presbyters, 3 deacons (so syr), 3 widows; the number of readers is not mentioned, probably only one. Harnack (*SapC* p. 95) suggests that as there were 14 regions in Rome, and as Pope Fabian, *c.* A.D. 236, had divided the regions among the deacons (*Catal. Liberianus*), 7 subdeacons were added in his time to the 7 deacons, so as to have one deacon or subdeacon for each region, while the 42 acolytes would provide three for each region.

xxi. 217 Achelis suggests that we should alter 'presbyters and subdeacons and readers' into 'presbyters and *deacons* and readers' as otherwise deacons would be omitted; Funk, on the other hand, thinks that the omission of deacons is merely due to a scribe, and is a clerical error (*TUH* 227).

**Singers** (ψάλται, ᾠδοί, ψαλτωδοί) are not found as a separate class or order in Test, EgCO, EthCO, H, CH; but they have become such in AC (iii. 11, vi. 17<sup>2</sup>), at Laodicea (can. 23), in ApCan 43, 69, and in Test-arab, which alters the Test enumeration given above to 'four subdeacons and readers, three widows and singers,' and which adds to Test i. 45 a chapter about the appointment of a singer.

**Interpreters** would only exist in bilingual countries. They are found in Egypt (Sar 25) and in Syria and Palestine (Epiphanius, *Expos. Fid.* 21; and in 'Silvia,' where however the presbyter interprets for the bishop, vii. 5). They are not found in the Church Orders. For this office in later times see Brightman *LEW* 578.

**Doorkeepers** (πυλωροί) as an order are mentioned in Cornelius' list, and in AC ii. 57<sup>10</sup>, iii. 11, EthD 10, etc.; not in Test, EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>. Their function seems at first to have been performed by deacons, who as they grew in importance gave up their more menial offices to subdeacons and doorkeepers. But the direction for deacons to watch the doors is preserved in almost all the Church Orders,

even in AC, which makes a separate order of door-keepers.

5. **Widows and deaconesses** are frequently mentioned in early Christian literature in connexion with the ministry to women as well as with the receipt of alms. The Pastoral Epistles and the reference in Ignatius to 'the virgins who are called widows' (*Smyrn.* 13) prepare us for a considerable development. In ApCO there is a trace of a struggle between those who desired to push women's work, and those who wished to minimise it, the latter position being evidently taken by the writer; but three widows are to be appointed, two to pray and (strange to say) to receive spiritual revelations (so ApCO-syr 21 and H<sub>2</sub> p. 95), the third to visit the sick. There is not much said of 'widows' in most of the manuals parallel to CH. But in Test there is a great extension of their position, and this is one of the marked characteristics of the writer. Corresponding to presbyters there are 'presbyteresses' or 'widows who sit first' (*προκαθήμεναι*) to whom is given almost all the women's ministry. But deaconesses are also incidentally mentioned, as corresponding to the deacons; nothing, however, is said about their appointment, nor yet of the functions they are to perform, except that they are to carry the Eucharist to a sick woman just as deacons carry it to a sick man (ii. 20 for deacons and deaconesses; for the former cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. 65). 'Widows' in Test take the part in the baptism of women usually

assigned to deaconesses. Both widows and deaconesses are allowed to stand within the veil at the Eucharist (so ArD); but in the rubric about the communion widows are included in the 'priesthood,' while deaconesses are excluded from it (i. 23). ArD shows traces of some confusion: it talks of 'widows who are deaconesses' (§ 38). In Test widows are not to be ordained with laying on of hands, though a form of prayer is given, to be used at their appointment (κατάστασις). They are bidden to be silent in church\* (i. 40). In AC the deaconess (ἡ διάκονος or διακόνισσα) takes the place assigned in Test to 'widows who sit first' (see on baptism below, p. 105 f.), and widows are subject to deaconesses (iii. 8<sup>1</sup>; so EthD 12). Widows are, however, mentioned frequently in AC, chiefly as receiving alms and as praying for the donors. They must be not less than sixty years of age, and monogamous (iii. 1<sup>1</sup>; so EthD 12, cf. 1 Ti. v. 9). Presbyteresses (πρεσβύτιδες) are identified with 'those who sit in front' (προκαθήμεναι) at Laodicea (can. 11), where their appointment for the future is forbidden. The same council forbids women to 'approach near the altar' (can. 44), apparently referring to the custom approved in Test and ArD. Presbyteresses are also found in Didasc ii. 28<sup>3</sup> (*DidCA* i. 108, H<sub>1</sub> p. 38); its 'presbyterae' appear as πρεσβύτιδες in || AC. In AC iii. 5<sup>6</sup> this word again occurs, but it is not in || Didasc; in AC ii. 57<sup>12</sup> αἱ χῆραι καὶ αἱ πρεσβύτιδες = 'anus ac viduae' of || Didasc. The

\* So AC iii. 6<sup>1</sup>, EthD 12; the || Didasc forbids them to teach at all (cf. 1 Ti. ii. 12).

'presbyteresses' and 'widows' seem to be the same persons, both in Didasc and in AC. The name *πρεσβύτις* was not liked by Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxxix. 4), except as a designation of an elder widow. There are no deaconesses in CH, EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>. In AC ii. 58<sup>6</sup>, EthD 10 they arrange the places of the women in church, as deacons do those of the men. They may do nothing without the authority of the deacon; and are the intermediaries when any women have business to transact with the deacon or bishop (AC ii. 26<sup>6</sup>; cf. EthD 6\*).

6. **Readers.** There is some evidence that the reader once occupied a very high position, though we see by Cornelius' list that in the third century he had sunk to a low one in Rome. In Test i. 35, 44 f. and AC viii. 21 f. he comes after the subdeacon, in EgCO 35 f., EthCO 27, CH vii. 48 f. and at Antioch in *Encaen.* (can. 10) before him; but Test is inconsistent, for in i. 23 (twice) the reader comes first. There is also an indication that Test has deliberately altered in i. 44 f. the order of his source, for he begins about the appointment of a subdeacon with the word 'similarly' which is inappropriate as it stands, but would be very appropriate if the chapter about the reader had preceded. AC also is inconsistent; in iii. 11<sup>1</sup> the reader comes first, in vi. 17<sup>2</sup> the subdeacon; but in these passages the order of offices is vague. CH also is inconsistent;

\* SEC-arab 53 (corresponding to SEC-sah 66) and EthS 54, which are parallel to AC viii., speak of subdeaconesses and female readers. But SEC-boh, sah has 'subdeacons and readers.'



see xxi. 217, where the subdeacon comes first. In ApCO 19 f. the reader comes before the *deacon*, and Harnack sees here a very old arrangement dating from the second century, in which the office of reader (like that of the exorcist) was charismatic, and he was not included among the clergy; whereas early in the third century, in Rome, he came to be reckoned among the clergy. He points out that in Didasc the reader was to receive a double portion at the Agape like the presbyters and deacons, while in || AC ii. 28<sup>5</sup> this is reduced to a single portion (*SapC* p. 71 f.). We remember what an important position the reader takes in Justin's account of the Eucharist (*Apol.* i. 67).

There are other traces of the old position of the reader, even after that position had been lost. For example, ApCO 19 insists that the reader must be able to instruct or narrate (*διηγητικός*)—he 'fills the place of an Evangelist\*'—though the same manual does not insist that a bishop should be so† ('if he knows not letters, he shall be meek' etc. § 16). So in Test (i. 45) the reader must have had 'much experience' and be 'learned and of much learning, with a good memory.' At one time, it would appear, the reader expounded as well as read; when his function was limited to the mechanical reading of the Scrip-

\* The Bohairic has altered this (Tattam p. 22).

† The possibility of an unlearned (*ἀναλφάβητος* or *ἀγράμματος*) bishop is often recognised: e.g. AC ii. 1<sup>2</sup> and || Didasc, EthD 3. Some manuals however will not tolerate an ignorant bishop: cf. Test i. 20, AC viii. 2<sup>4</sup> (another inconsistency), SEC 63 (Horner, p. 338).

tures his position fell. In the Clementine *Epistle to James* 13 there are catechists who are to instruct and must be learned. In Cyprian (*Ep.* xxxviii. [xxxii.] 2), though the reader is inferior to the subdeacon, he reads the Gospel in the Liturgy; and in CH vii. 48 the Book of the Gospels is given him at his appointment. In Test (i. 45) this becomes 'a book' only; and (i. 27) the reader reads 'the Prophets and the rest' (*i.e.* the Apostle). In ConstH he receives a book, in EgCO 35 the 'book of the Apostle' (the Pauline Epistles; EgCO-arab 26 has simply 'the book,' and so EthCO 27 'the Scripture'). AC viii. 22<sup>3</sup> merely refers to his reading the Scriptures. In Sarapion the office is mentioned, but we learn nothing about it. Another probable trace of older custom is that in Test i. 19 the reader is allowed to say the 'commemoration' (probably the suffrages of the Ectene) as an alternative to the chief deacon. Harnack goes so far as to say (*SAPC* p. 69) that the ordination prayer for a reader in AC viii. 22 points back to the time when readers were regarded as having a charisma. But those who had a charisma in old times were not ordained. Doubtless, however, AC, like Test, contains relics of a bygone point of view. Another thing that points in the same direction is the comparative scarcity of readers. AC ii. 28<sup>5</sup> and || Didasc say: 'if there be a reader.' ApCO 19 apparently only provided for *one* reader in each church (Harnack, *SAPC* p. 15, proposes to insert εἰς). See also above, pp. 14 f., 81 n.

7. **Confessors.** Those who in times of persecution had confessed the faith, even though they had

not been martyred, received for the rest of their lives great reverence. A sort of honorary presbyterate was extended to them all as a class, and this is provided for in CH vi. 43—47, EgCO 34, EthCO 25, Test i. 39 [*H*<sub>3</sub> is wanting]. Achelis (*Die Can. Hipp.* p. 221 ff.) has adduced some evidence that in the third century confessors were held as qualified to be among the clergy. But there is no evidence that they were allowed to perform ministerial functions without ordination. The section in CH and its cognates is much confused, and we can only arrive at the sense by comparing one with another. That in EgCO runs as follows :—

If a confessor has been in chains for the Name of the Lord, they shall not lay hand upon him for the diaconate (or ministry) or presbyterate, for he has the honour of the presbyterate by his confession. But if he is to be appointed bishop, then there shall be laying on of hands on him. But if he is a confessor who was not brought before an authority, nor was punished with chains, nor shut up in prison, nor condemned with any sentence, but in a casual way he was only insulted for the Name of our Lord, and he was punished in the house (privately?), though he confessed, hand is to be laid on him for every office of which he is worthy. Now the bishop shall give thanks according as we have said before. It is not altogether necessary for him to recite the same words which we said before, as if learning to say them by heart in his thanksgiving to God ; but according to the ability of each one he is to pray. If indeed he can pray sufficiently well with a grand prayer, then it is good. But if also he should pray and recite a prayer in (due) measure, no one may forbid him, only let him pray being sound in orthodoxy (slightly altered from Horner, p. 308 f.).

EthCO is still more confused, and Test, in which the passage is shorter, scarcely less so. But the general sense is clear. A confessor is to rank with presbyters; if he is required for the episcopate he is to be ordained with laying on of hands. This is intelligible. Apart from the question of the bishop having the sole right of ordination of others, it would be difficult to have honorary bishops, as there was only one bishop for each diocese; while it would be easy to have honorary presbyters, as there were so many ordinary presbyters. The rest of the section deals with another class of confessors, who are worthy of ordination by their confession; and with the permission to deviate from the fixed prayer of ordination. The || AC viii. 23 is quite plain. Its object is to repress the undue claims of confessors to minister, and it is a simplification of what was an ambiguous chapter in its source. It says that a confessor is not ordained, for it (confessorship) is of his own will (γνώμη) and endurance; but he is to be honoured, and if wanted for a bishop *or presbyter or deacon* he is to be ordained. A self-asserting confessor is to be cast out. Here is a clear instance of the posteriority of AC (see below, p. 145).

8. **Promotion.** The promotion of readers is mentioned in AC viii. 22<sup>4</sup>, Test i. 45, but not in EgCO, EthCO; that of subdeacons in Test i. 44. St Basil forbids the advancement of an offending reader or minister (subdeacon) in *Ep. canon. tert.* ccxvii. 69, and implies that ordinarily they would be

promoted. In Cyprian *Ep.* xxxix. (xxxiii.) 5 some readers are mentioned as about to become presbyters *directly*, because they had been confessors; this has a bearing on what was said about confessors above. The promotion of deacons is referred to in the ordination prayers in AC viii. 17<sup>3</sup>, EthCO 24 and probably Test i. 38 (this is made likely by || EthCO 24, now newly published); H<sub>3</sub> breaks off before this sentence in the prayer is reached. In the fourth-century *Life of Polycarp* by Pseudo-Pionius (Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, iii. 433 ff.), Polycarp is made to be successively deacon, presbyter, and bishop (§§ 11, 17, 23); and so the Council of Sardica (c. A.D. 347) says (can. 10) that a bishop must have been reader, deacon, and presbyter in succession and for a considerable time; but the genuineness of these canons is disputed. ApCO-syr 22 (so H<sub>2</sub> p. 97) refers to the promotion of the deacons to the episcopate (ποιμενικὸς τόπος), a comment on 1 Ti. iii. 13; it is not said that they can become presbyters.

**9. Marriage of the clergy.** The Church Orders do not all take quite the same line on this question. CH, EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub> say nothing about it. ApCO-syr 16 shows a somewhat ascetic tendency. A bishop is better as a celibate or if 'from one wife,' *i.e.*, probably, a widower. This is softened in ApCO-boh, sah; a married bishop 'having children' (παίδων μέτοχος for παιδείας μ., 'one who can impart discipline' which is undoubtedly the original) is to abide with his wife (H<sub>2</sub> is wanting here; ApCO-arab, eth read 'before he

becomes bishop' for 'having children'). ApCO suggests that presbyters should not marry (§ 18), but deacons are expressly allowed to do so once; they must be 'monogamous' (a different expression from that used of bishops) and 'educating their children' (τεκνοτρόφοι, § 20). Test says nothing of presbyters' marriage, but evidently would wish bishops *and deacons* to be celibates or widowers, though it actually prescribes a less strict rule (i. 20, 33). AC ii. 2 and || Didasc (H<sub>1</sub> p. 16), and ApCan 5, 40, 51, on the other hand, rather favour married bishops than otherwise, as also apparently do the *Clementine Homilies*\* (iii. 68). Thus also ArD 36 is less ascetic than || Test, and makes no suggestion that the bishop should be a widower; it prefers a celibate, but a bishop may be married. EthD 3 seems to insist that a bishop *must* be married.

Funk (*TUH* 63) remarks that while in the time of Clement of Alexandria presbyters might marry, a stricter discipline came in during the fourth century, as Epiphanius witnesses. He argues that AC, which is more lax on this subject, must therefore be earlier than Test, which is more strict. The history of opinion does not justify this view. The tendency in the fourth century is undoubted; but it was far from universal, and there were differences of opinion between men of opposite schools of thought then as

\* The date of the 'Clementine' literature is uncertain: it used to be thought to belong to the second or to the third century; but the latest writers on the subject attribute it to the fourth (Dom Butler in *JThSt* x. 457; cf. Hort, *Clementine Recognitions*, London 1901, p. 130).



now. Test and AC represent such opposite schools; ApCan, as we should expect, favours the AC view. The councils of Antioch in *Encaeniis* and of Gangra (c. A.D. 370?) do the same. The former (can. 25) assumes as a probable state of things that a bishop will have a 'household' and 'sons.' Funk's argument, then, would require us to put, not only Test, but ApCO into the fifth century, which is impossible. His deduction that Test insists on *presbyters* being celibates or widowers is not warranted by the text, which says nothing about it, but only that they must be 'pure, without blame' (i. 29), almost the same phraseology as is used about subdeacons and readers (i. 44 f.).

Those Church Orders which mention the subject of clerical marriage at all insist at least on monogamy; the clergy must not have married again after their first wife's death, for this was the interpretation which they put on the injunction of the Pastoral Epistles; see *e.g.* AC vi. 17, which expressly extends the injunction of monogamy to the minor orders. In ApCan 17—19 no one who has married twice after baptism, or who has married a widow or a divorced or an unworthy woman, or two sisters, or a niece, may enter even the minor orders. It may be remarked that even the less austere Church Orders show a great dislike of second marriages. They are to be avoided by laymen also, though not forbidden to them. But third or fourth marriages are abominated. Thus EthD 12 says: 'A first marriage is pure before the Lord, but they who marry a second



time are transgressors of the Law....And they who marry a third time are not to be numbered with the flock of Christ. But as to those who marry a fourth time, their lasciviousness is yet more evident, and they shall find reproach and dishonour. For in the first creation the Lord gave one woman to one man and for this cause they two became one flesh.' The remarriage of widows is in question; the writer goes on, however, to allow (though grudgingly) a second marriage. The || AC iii. 2 is similar, but not quite so strong. St Basil says that digamists and trigamists were subject to penance; trigamy, indeed, was no longer described as marriage at all (*Ep. canon. prim.* clxxxviii. 4; cf. also *Ep. canon. sec.* cxcix. 50).

Marriage after ordination is forbidden in AC vi. 17<sup>1</sup> (not in || Didasc) to bishops, presbyters, deacons, but not to subdeacons, singers, readers and doorkeepers; in ApCan 26, to all clergy except readers and singers. And this was the general rule, though post-ordination marriage was only forbidden by civil law under Justinian, A.D. 528. The council of Neocaesarea (c. A.D. 320?) forbids it to presbyters (can. 1), and a few years earlier that of Ancyra also to deacons, unless they have given notice of marriage before they are ordained (can. 10).

## NOTE ON DISCIPLINE.

It is a matter of some surprise that the Church Orders do not show an elaborate system of discipline, such as the canons of some of the Councils would lead us to expect. Grades of penitents\* are found in several fourth century writers, *e.g.* Basil (*Ep. canon. sec.* cxcix. 22, *tert.* ccxvii. 56 ff., 80 f.). But it would seem that the division of penitents into 'stations' was never a universal thing in all countries. In the canons of Elvira in Spain they are not divided into 'stations,' but are punished according to the nature of their offences, in no very methodical manner. In the AC liturgy we find divisions of penitents, but not elsewhere. The discipline of the laity is exercised by the bishop and presbyters through the deacons (Test i. 36 f., AC ii. 16<sup>1,2</sup>, EthD 4, not || Didasc). AC and EthD speak of quite short periods of penitence, from two to seven weeks; they make a protest (as does Didasc) against too great severity, *e.g.* AC ii. 13 f., EthD 3; cf. ApCan 52. A rather unguarded statement of Didasc (so EthD 3) that one who sins after baptism is condemned in hell, is qualified in || AC ii. 7<sup>2</sup> by the addition of the words 'unless he repent and cease from his transgression.' Later phrases in Didasc and EthD show that this is the meaning there also. In CH xv. 79 (not in || EgCO, EthCO) it is said that those who fall into great sin after baptism are to be expelled until they repent with weeping, fasting, and works of mercy; but this manual has no specially ascetic tone. A stricter tendency is found in Test, due probably to the Montanistic influence at work in it (see below, p. 118). In i. 37 the deacon is forbidden to bring into the church 'for partaking' one who, having been baptized, has committed violence on a woman 'even

\* Traces of them are found in Tertullian (*e.g.* especially *de Poenit.* 6 where 'auditor' probably = a penitent) and in Cyprian.

if he repent.' It would, however, be a mistake to build too much on this. The meaning probably is that the matter is taken out of the hands of the deacon, who in this Church Order is otherwise given a very large discretion ; nothing is said further. The extremely rigorist line taken by the Council of Elvira (*c.* A.D. 305) is not imitated, so far as we can judge, by any of the Church Orders.

In all this literature the catechumens are dismissed before the more solemn part of the Liturgy, the *Missa Fidelium* as it was afterwards called, begins.

For the subject of 'Penitential Discipline in the First Three Centuries' reference may be made to an article by Dr Swete in *JThSt* iv. 321 ff.

## CHAPTER VI

### BAPTISM AND CONFIRMATION

The following description is taken from six of the Church Orders (CH xix. 101—153, EgCO 45 f., EthCO 34 f., H<sub>3</sub> p. 110 ff., Test ii. 6—10, AC vii. 22, 40—45). In the first five the passages are parallel; but the fragment of H<sub>3</sub> begins in the middle of the baptismal creed. The description in AC is independent (see above, p. 28 ff.).

1. **Baptismal ceremonies.** The time for baptism is Easter Day at cockcrow (Test 'after midnight'). But CH xix. 107 and Test ii. 6 contemplate in some cases the baptism being postponed to another day; AC does not mention any season. None of these manuals speak of 'Pentecost' as a time for baptism, as Tertullian does; he says that Pascha and Pentecost were the usual seasons (*de Bapt.* 19), but by the latter term he means the fifty days *before* Whitsunday (below, p. 133). And this long continued to be the general rule; for baptism at Epiphany and on other days in some places see *DCA* i. 165.

These Church Orders (including AC viii. 32 and || ConstH 22 and SEC 75, EthS 63) give strict direc-

tions as to the care to be taken in the selection of the candidates, as to trades and occupations which are forbidden to Christians, and as to the reception of concubines. Military service is forbidden in most of these books; CH xiii. 71 f. is slightly less strict, and AC viii. 32<sup>10</sup>, ConstH 22<sup>10</sup> soften down the prohibition into a direction that a soldier is to be taught to carry out the Baptist's rules (Lk. iii. 14; so || SEC 75, EthS 63). The prohibition, however impossible in practice, argues the relative antiquity of EgCO, EthCO, Test (H<sub>3</sub> has a lacuna here). ApCan 83 only forbids bishops, presbyters, and deacons to be soldiers. (See further below, p. 145 f.)

The selected candidates or 'competentes' were set apart for instruction. The selection was made at the beginning of the 'forty days of Pascha' (Lent). The 45th canon of Laodicea says that none are to be received after the second week in Lent. As the time for baptism comes on, the competentes have the Gospel read over them; on Maundy Thursday they bathe (so also Augustine *Epp.* liv. 10, lv. 33 Ben., *ad Januarium*); on the Friday they fast (see below, p. 137); on the Saturday they are exorcised by the bishop after the deacon's litany (so explicitly Test ii. 7, the rest implicitly), and receive the sign of the cross, or seal (see below, p. 108 f.). They keep vigil till cockerow on Easter Day and then 'come to the water' (the baptistery). Two oils are consecrated by the bishop, one called the 'oil of exorcism,' the other the 'oil of thanksgiving' (CH, EgCO, EthCO; Test similar; cf. Cyr. Jer. *CL* xx. 3 'exorcised oil').

Sar 15 f. has two prayers of consecration over the oil (ἄλειμμα) and chrism (χρίσμα); but Brightman (*JThSt* i. 264 f.) treats the former as being said when the candidates are anointed the first time, and the second at the Confirmation. The water is hallowed (so expressly EgCO, EthCO, AC); this is implied in the epithet 'sacram' in CH xix. 112, but it is not mentioned in Test; it is spoken of in Cyprian *Ep.* lxx. (lxix.) 1, Sar 7, Cyril of Jerusalem *CL* iii. 3, Basil *de Spir. S.* xxvii. (66) (which also mentions the blessing of the chrism), and elsewhere. The interpolated EthS 40 A (see above, p. 21) gives prayers for hallowing the water.

The candidate makes a renunciation of the devil, turning (CH, Test, Cyr. Jer.) to the West. The renunciation is universal, at any rate from Tertullian's time onwards. He gives the form as: 'I renounce the devil and his pomp and his angels' (*de Cor.* 3, *de Spect.* 4; cf. *de Idol.* 6) and it is practically the same in the Church Orders, though, except in CH, the word 'pomp' loses its neutral sense of 'retinue' and is used (often in the plural, as it is in the Book of Common Prayer, though there coupled with the singular 'vanity') in the bad sense of 'display,' 'pride' (so Cyr. Jer. *CL* xix. 6 expressly; see further art. 'Abrenuntio' in *ERE* i. 38 ff.). The renunciation is sometimes put interrogatively, with the answer 'I renounce'; and in the case of infants, sponsors, that is, the 'parents or relations,' make the replies (Test, CH, EgCO, EthCO; for the sponsors cf. Tertullian, *de Bapt.* 18). The sponsors are said to

take up (suscipere) the baptized from the font (cf. Tertullian, *de Cor.* 3; so ἀναληφθεῖς, Socrates *HE* vii. 4), and are therefore called ‘susceptores,’ ἀνάδοχοι. Infant baptism is expressly prescribed in AC vi. 15<sup>7</sup>, the preceding chapter having forbidden circumcision; these are interpolations into Didasc by the AC writer. So in Test ii. 8 ‘babes’ are baptized before the adults, just as in i. 23 (and AC viii. 13<sup>14</sup>) they are communicated before them.

The first anointing, by the presbyter, follows the Renunciations. The ‘oil of exorcism’ is used, and the presbyter says: ‘Let every spirit depart from thee’ (Test developes this a little). This anointing is in all these manuals. In AC vii. 22<sup>2</sup> it is interpolated into || D 7, which does not mention anointing at all; but AC says that if there is neither oil (ἐλαίον) nor unguent (μύρον), water suffices. So there is an anointing with consecrated oil before baptism in *Clementine Recognitions* iii. 67, Sar 15, Cyr. Jer. *CL* xx. 3.

This pre-baptismal anointing seems to be the only one in Didasc (iii. 12; the || AC iii. 16<sup>4</sup> interpolates another after the immersion, see *DidCA* i. 210 f.), and this also was apparently the custom in the Syriac-speaking Church in the earliest ages. Dom Connolly (‘Texts and Studies’ viii. p. xlii) cites the *Acts of Judas Thomas* (in five places), the *Acts of John the Son of Zebedee* (in two places), the *Life of Rabbula*, a Syriac account of the baptism of Constantine, and the *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (fifth century). On the other hand post-baptismal anointing only is mentioned in Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* i. 14 [‘water—oil—honey and milk—sacramental bread’], *de Resurr. Carn.* 8



['the flesh is washed, anointed, signed, shadowed with laying on of hands, it feeds on the body and blood of Christ'], *de Bapt.* 7), and apparently in Cyprian (*Ep.* lxx. [lxix.] 2) and Origen (*in Rom.* v. 8).

2. **The Baptismal Creed and the Immersions.** In CH and Test the candidate turns to the East and makes his act of submission to God\*, saying (CH): 'I believe and bow myself before thee and all thy pomp†, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' He then goes down to the water, led by the deacon or (CH) the presbyter 'performing the office of a deacon.' The act of submission to God in the other Church Orders takes the form of a recital of a Creed or a profession of faith at the time of baptizing; this is also found as an addition in CH, Test. This is the 'redditio symboli,' as the teaching of the Creed during the catechumenate is the 'traditio symboli.' [At Laodicea (can. 46) the competentes recite the Creed on Maundy Thursday.] The Creed is given in most of the manuals interrogatively; in CH, H<sub>3</sub>, Test it is divided into three parts, one for each immersion, but in EgCO, EthCO the whole of the first form of Creed (p. 101) is said thrice‡.

In CH, H<sub>3</sub>, Test, the Creed is of the Roman form, and is as follows, the italicised passages being only found in one of these three manuals:—

\* *συντάσσομαι* is the usual word, as opposed to *ἀντιτάσσομαι* 'I renounce'; so AC vii. 41<sup>3</sup>, Athanasius *Or. c. Arian.* ii. 43. The substantive *ἀποταγή* is used in Sar 9 and AC vii. 41<sup>3</sup>.

† Here 'pomp' = 'retinue,' as above, p. 98.

‡ A reminiscence of a Creed is found in Didasc (*DidCA* i. 382, H<sub>1</sub> p. 89), and is preserved in || AC vi. 30<sup>8</sup>; but baptism is not being spoken of. There is no mention of a creed in D.

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? [H fragment begins here]. Dost thou believe *also* (Test) in Christ Jesus [CH: Jesus Christ] the Son of God, *who came from the Father, who is of old with the Father* (Test), who was born of Mary the Virgin [CH: whom Mary the Virgin bore] of the Holy Ghost, *who came to save the human race* (CH), who was crucified *for us* (CH) under [Test: in the days of] Pontius Pilate, and died *and was buried* (H) and rose the third day, coming to life (not CH) from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sat down (CH: sitteth) at the right hand of the Father, and shall come [Test: cometh] to judge the quick and the dead? Dost thou believe *also* (Test) in the Holy Ghost, *the Paraclete, proceeding from the Father and the Son\** (CH) and in the holy Church (not CH), *and the resurrection of the flesh?* (H).

The Creed or form of submission in EgCO and EthCO is a double one; the second part rather strangely has no clause about God the Father. Both parts are said in the water, the former at each immersion, thrice in all; the latter after immersion. In what follows, the three versions of EgCO, the Sahidic and Arabic given by Horner, and the Bohairic given by Tattam, are collated, as well as EthCO.

I. I believe [arab: Dost thou believe] in the one *true* (Eth omits) God, the Father Almighty, and in his only Son our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his [boh, Eth: the] Holy Spirit, Giver of life to the universe [arab, Eth: all creation; boh omits], the Trinity of the same substance (*ὁμοούσιον*), one Godhead [arab, Eth: the Trinity equal in Godhead], one Lordship [Eth: Lord], one kingdom, one faith, one baptism, in the catholic *apostolic* [arab, Eth omit] holy Church, and life eternal. Amen. Answer: I believe this.

\* The *Filioque* is probably an interpolation; see below, pp. 116, 158.

II. Dost thou believe [sah: Thou believest] in *the Name of* (Eth) our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God the Father, that he became man *for our sake* (sah, boh) by a miracle in an incomprehensible unity [arab, Eth: in an incomprehensible miracle; boh: in a wonderful manner] in his [arab: from the; Eth: by the] Holy Spirit, from [Eth: and by] *our lady* (Eth) Mary the *holy* (sah, boh) Virgin without seed of man, and that he was crucified *for us* (boh, sah) in the time of Pontius Pilate and died voluntarily for our salvation; that he rose *from the dead* (Eth, arab) on the third day; that he released the captives [boh: bonds], ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of *his good* [arab, Eth: the] Father *on high* (sah, boh); and that he cometh [arab, Eth: shall come] to judge the quick and the dead at [sah: according to] his appearing and his kingdom? And dost thou believe [sah: thou believest] in the holy, good, and life-giving [arab, Eth: sanctifying] Spirit, *purifying the universe* (sah, boh), in the holy Church; *and dost thou believe the resurrection of the body which shall happen to all men, and the kingdom of heaven and eternal judgment?* (arab, Eth; boh omits; sah has a lacuna after 'Church'). Answer: I believe.

It is very noteworthy that H<sub>3</sub> has departed from EgCO and EthCO, and has the Roman form of Creed.

The submission to God and the baptismal Creed in AC vii. 41 come immediately after the Renunciation and *before* the first anointing. So in Cyril CL xix. 9 the candidate before the anointing makes his submission, saying: 'I believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance'; but in this account there is another, interrogatory, profession at the immersion (see below). The form in AC is as follows:—

And I associate myself (*συντάσσομαι*) with Christ, and

believe and am baptized into one unbegotten only true God Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things, from whom are all things; and into the Lord Jesus the Christ his only begotten Son, the Firstborn of all creation, who before the ages was begotten by the good pleasure of the Father, not created, by whom all things were made, which are in heaven and on earth, both visible and invisible, who in the last days descended from heaven and took flesh and was born of the holy Virgin Mary, and did live (πολιτευσάμενον) holily according to the laws of his God and Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and rose again from the dead after his passion on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and again cometh at the end of the world with glory to judge the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And I am baptized into the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete, who wrought in all the saints from the beginning of the world, but was afterwards sent both to the Apostles by the Father according to the promise of our Saviour and Lord, Jesus Christ, and after the Apostles to all those that believe in the holy catholic and apostolic Church; into the resurrection of the flesh and into the remission of sins, and into the kingdom of heaven and into the life of the world to come.

In Cyril (*CL* xx. 4) there is, in addition to the formula of submission already mentioned, an interrogation at the water. The candidates are asked if they believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; they descend three times into the water and ascend again. And in the North Italian *de Sacramentis* (ii. 7; c. A.D. 400) there is a short interrogatory Creed, one clause being said at each

immersion: 'Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and in his cross? Dost thou believe also in the Holy Ghost?'

The act of baptizing is performed by the presbyter. The formula of baptism is given in D 7, CH xix. 133, AC iii. 16<sup>4</sup>, vii. 22<sup>1</sup>, 44<sup>1</sup>; cf. ApCan 50. In CH it is: 'I baptize thee in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, who is equal.' The formula is not given in Test, but it is implied in ii. 7, in the long prayer of exorcism said over the competentes. Trine immersion is the usage (cf. Tertullian *de Cor.* 3, in *Prax.* 26, ApCan 50), though it is disputed whether this means actual dipping (*total* immersion). The water must be flowing according to D 7 (ἐν ῥοαίᾳ ζῶντι, omitted in || AC vii. 22<sup>1</sup>), CH, EgCO, EthCO; that is, as explained in the two last, it must flow into the font. D, EgCO, EthCO make an exception in case of scarcity of water. D says: 'If thou hast not running water, then baptize in other water; if thou art not able in cold (water), then in warm; but if thou hast neither, then pour water on the head thrice in (εἰς) the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' CH mentions the water of a *stream* (xix. 112), not of the sea, as Achelis; see Burkitt in *JThSt* i. 279. [So in xxix. 213 the dust swept up from the church (loco sacro) is to be cast into a *stream*.]

3. **Confirmation.** After the baptized come up from the water, the second anointing by the

presbyter takes place. The 'oil of thanksgiving' is used, and the presbyter says : 'I anoint thee with oil in the Name of Jesus Christ' (so Test, H<sub>3</sub>, EgCO ; but EthCO and EgCO-arab omit the last six words ; CH substitutes : 'in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost'). The neophyte is then clothed (in white, Test ii. 12 ; and so often in Christian antiquity, see *DCA* i. 163, but the other Church Orders merely mention the clothing), and brought from the baptistery into the church. In the anointing of women the services of deaconesses (AC iii. 16<sup>2</sup>) or of 'widows who sit first' (Test ii. 8) are employed, but the presbyter says the words of anointing (Test). Similarly in baptism, the bishop says the renunciations and submissions, but the widows 'beneath a veil receive' women 'by a veil' (*ib.*). In AC iii. 16<sup>2</sup> the *deacon* anoints 'the forehead of the women with the holy oil' and 'after him the deaconess' anoints them ; so 'in the laying on of hands' (χειροθεσία) the bishop anoints the head. The writer goes on (iii. 16<sup>4</sup>) to say that the bishop anoints the head of those who are being baptized, whether men or women, with the holy oil (that is, the first anointing). Then the bishop or presbyter baptizes them, and a deacon receives the men and a deaconess the women, so that the 'seal' may be given solemnly (σεμνοπρεπῶς), and then the bishop anoints the baptized with μύρον. In || Didasc (*DidCA* i. p. 210) a deaconess or another woman, if there is one, anoints women before baptism. In the laying on of hands the bishop is to anoint the head only,



whether of men or women, and afterwards when he (or the deacon or presbyter at his command) baptizes, a deaconess is to anoint the women. But a man is to repeat the baptismal formula. Then a deaconess receives the newly baptized ascending from the water, so that the seal may be given 'in purity and holiness.' Both AC and Didasc are a little confused. In || EthD 16 the deaconess anoints the women before baptism and clothes them again afterwards, and the bishop anoints both the men and women on the forehead, and so on, as before.

When the newly baptized are brought into the church, the bishop lays a hand on them and invokes for them the Holy Ghost, or the grace of God. The prayer is as follows :—

EGCO 46 (sah, boh, arab), ETHCO 35

*Lord (Eg) God, as thou hast made these worthy of receiving (Eg) the laver of the new birth and of (arab, Eth) forgiveness of sins unto the future life (sah, boh), make them worthy to be filled with thy (sah, boh) Holy Spirit, and speed forth (Eth) and send down (Eg) upon them thy grace [Eth : the grace of the Holy Spirit], that they may serve thee according to (Eg) thy will, for thine is the glory [Eth : Glory to], Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the holy Church, now and always and for ever and ever.*

H<sub>3</sub> p. 111

Lord God who hast made these worthy to obtain forgiveness of sins by the washing of regeneration of the Holy Spirit, send upon them thy grace that they may serve thee according to thy will, for thine is the glory, Father, and Son, with the Holy Spirit, in the holy Church, both now and for ever and ever. Amen.



## CH xix. 137 f.

We bless thee, Almighty Lord God, that thou hast made these worthy to be born again, and pourest on them thy Holy Spirit, that they may be joined to the body of the Church, never to be separated by heathen (alienis) works. Give rather to those to whom thou hast given forgiveness of sins, a pledge of thy kingdom through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and the Holy Ghost be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

The forms in EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>\* are mere variants; that in CH does not directly invoke, though it refers to, the gift of the Spirit, but it is not independent of the others, as we see by the common use of phrases and the identity of the drift of the prayers. These forms, then, all seem to depend on a common original. The prayer in Test is longer, being derived from the original, directly or indirectly, by interpolation. It is very similar to H, but like EgCO and EthCO has: 'make them worthy to be filled with the Holy Spirit.' The form in AC vii. 44 is quite independent. It is a prayer for the efficacy of the anointing.

There is at this point in EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>, Test, a third anointing, by the bishop (but in EthCO by the presbyter†), with the 'oil of thanksgiving,' on the head. The bishop says: 'I anoint thee with the holy anointing oil from (or 'in,' or 'in the Name of') God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ [Christ

\* The scribe of H seems to have made a slip in connecting 'Spiritus sancti' with 'regenerationis' instead of with 'gratiam.'

† In Sar the bishop blesses the oil and no more is said; perhaps the presbyter did the rest.

Jesus] (the only Son) and the Holy Ghost [Test amplifies]. He then 'seals' him on the forehead, gives him the kiss of peace, saying : 'The Lord [God of the meek, Test] be with thee' and each one answers separately 'And with thy spirit.' In CH there is no third anointing, but the sign of the cross and salutation follow the laying on of hands and its prayer immediately. In AC also (vii. 43 f.) only one anointing after baptism is spoken of, and the laying on of hands is only referred to incidentally (vii. 44<sup>3</sup>)\*; after the anointing and laying on of hands the neophyte stands up, as a sign that he is raised with Christ, and says the Lord's prayer and another.—For the laying on of hands in Confirmation and the invocation of the Holy Ghost see Tertullian *de Bapt.* 8 (cf. *de Resurr. Carn.* 8), Cyprian *Epp.* lxxii. (lxxi.) 1; lxxiii. (lxxii.) 9. Tertullian mentions the anointing in both treatises. Cyril of Jerusalem (*CL* xxi.) speaks of the anointing, but not of the laying on of hands. Athanasius (*ad Serap. Orat.* i. 6) says that by the laying on of the Apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given to those who were being regenerated (so Origen *de Princip.* i. 3<sup>2</sup>).

A word may be added about the 'seal,' which has several meanings. (1) It is used for baptism, in the Ancient Homily, 'Pseudo-Clement 2 *ad Cor.*' 7 f. and

\* It is perhaps not a mere coincidence that AC also apparently takes the laying on of hands for granted in the ordination of a bishop; but there it is not even referred to (see above, p. 74). In AC ii. 32<sup>3</sup>, iii. 16<sup>3</sup> the laying on of hands by the bishop in confirmation is explicitly mentioned, and probably also in iii. 10<sup>1</sup>. On the question of the presbyter confirming in AC see p. 155.

Hermas *Sim.* viii. 6 ; for other second century references see Lightfoot *Clement* ii. p. 226 ; perhaps also in ApCO 12 (not in || D). (2) It denotes the sign of the cross, at any time, Cyril *CL* xiii. 36 ; so the competentes are 'sealed' before baptism (see above). But especially (3) it denotes the sign of the cross in Confirmation, and so Confirmation itself, or the anointing at Confirmation, as above, and AC iii. 17<sup>1</sup> (not in || Didasc), vii. 22<sup>3</sup> (expressly, as distinguished from the immersion), Cyril *CL* iii. 3. (4) It is used for the action of presbyters at the ordination of presbyters, H<sub>3</sub> p. 110 (not in || EthCO 24) ; or (5) for the conclusion of a service, Test i. 26, where perhaps a final blessing is meant, the word being used in this sense among the Nestorians to this day ; or (6) for the Eucharistic bread, Brightman *LEW* p. 587. In EdCan 8 the liturgical gospel is called the 'sealer' of the lections ; and in Tertullian (*de Orat.* 18) the kiss of peace is called the 'seal' (signaculum) of prayer.

4. **The Baptismal Eucharist** follows immediately after the Confirmation ; for this see above, p. 46. The newly-baptized communicate in Test (i. 23) directly after the clergy and those that have charismata, and just before the infants and the rest of the laity. One feature may be mentioned. In EgCO 45, EthCO 34, Test ii. 8, the candidates for baptism are forbidden to bring anything with them (EgCO specifies 'any other vessel' : EthCO has 'any ornament of gold, or ring or gem of any kind') except an offering for the Eucharist. Funk objects (*TUH* p. 54) that the custom of communicants bringing golden or other vessels to the Eucharist, to receive the sacrament in them, was forbidden A.D. 692 by the Trullan Synod (can. 101) and was not known before,

its non-existence being implied by the silence of Cyril of Jerusalem and Chrysostom; and that therefore these manuals cannot be of the fourth century. The argument from silence, however, is usually insecure; and in this case, even if the custom condemned by the Trullan Synod is the same as that referred to in the Church Orders, and even if it did not obtain in the fourth century at Jerusalem and at Antioch, there is no reason why it should not have existed in Egypt.

*Note 1.* Baptism by deacons in case of necessity is allowed in Test ii. 10, and, if permitted by the bishop, in Didasc iii. 12<sup>3</sup> (*DidCA* i. 210, Gibson, p. 78, not || AC iii. 16<sup>4</sup>)\*. It is prohibited in AC viii. 28<sup>4</sup>, 46<sup>11</sup> expressly, and by implication in AC iii. 11<sup>1</sup> and EthD 14, which forbid readers, singers, doorkeepers [and subdeacons, AC] to baptize and only allow the deacons to assist. Women are forbidden to baptize in AC iii. 9 and || Didasc, EthD 13; the language used shows that it was not an uncommon custom. The same prohibition is found in Tertullian *de Bapt.* 17 (he allows deacons, and even laymen, to baptize in case of necessity), and in the 100th canon of the so-called Fourth Council of Carthage, A.D. 398 (Hefele ii. 417). But, at any rate in the last two instances, the case of necessity is not specially referred to.

*Note 2.* In Test ii. 10, there is a curious provision that no one is to learn about the Resurrection before baptism. This may have been in the original Church Order of this series, for there is a difficult phrase in the corresponding place of EgCO 46 (sah, boh, arab) and EthCO

\* In Canon 7 of the Roman Synod of A.D. 402 a presbyter and a deacon (*i.e.* acting together) may baptize in Eastertide; at other times, in cases of necessity, only a presbyter, not a deacon (Hefele ii. 429).

35 ( $H_3$  breaks off just before this) about instruction in the resurrection of the flesh, a phrase which has no appropriateness as it stands, but which may have been a corruption of a prohibition like that of Test. In the baptismal creed of Test and EgCO (sah, boh) there is no clause about the resurrection, but it has been introduced into those of  $H_3$ , EgCO-arab, EthCO. Teaching about the resurrection is however given to catechumens before baptism in 'Silvia,' in Cyril of Jerusalem (*CL* iv. 30, xiv. etc.) and perhaps it is implied in AC vii. 39<sup>5</sup>.

## CHAPTER VII

### DOCTRINE

In this chapter it is proposed to glance at the doctrinal pre-suppositions of the Church Orders, as the determination of them will be a help in ascertaining the dates when the various books were written. In two of them, AC and Test, the dogmatic position is clearly marked.

1. **The Didache** has but few doctrinal indications. Its tone is slightly ascetic, and the reference to the prophets has led Hilgenfeld and Bigg to treat it as having a Montanistic tendency. But this view is generally rejected. There is in D no trace of the Montanistic idea that true prophecy consisted in the prophet being a passive and self-abandoning channel of the Spirit. The Christological indications are negative. There is no clear assertion of our Lord's divinity, except that the Trinitarian formula is prescribed for baptism. There is no prominence given to our Lord's death\*. Thus it is

\* Prof. Lake has lately (*Guardian*, Feb. 17, 1909) called attention to the fact that we find the same thing in the Apology of Aristides, and suggests that perhaps both it and D represent a point of view little influenced by St Paul's teaching. Certainly D does not seem to refer to the Pauline Epistles anywhere.

thought that D, which was intended (as the title shows) for the Gentiles, emanated from some not very well instructed Christian, probably from one who lived in a secluded community.

2. **The Apostolic Church Order** has no decided dogmatic tone. It shows some Montanistic leanings, as in the remark about the two widows who are to expect revelations (21); it shows a desire that bishops and presbyters should be celibates or widowers (16, 18; see above, p. 90 f.). But it is more concerned with moral precepts and canonical provisions than with doctrine. Both ApCO and D advocate liberality and almsgiving 'as a redemption for sins' (ApCO 13 = D 4).

3. **The Didascalia** also shows no strong doctrinal leanings. The chief indications of the writer's position may be seen in the sections on heresies and schisms corresponding to AC vi. (*DidCA* i. 302—384, H<sub>1</sub> pp. 60—90, Gibson, pp. 102—112; but the MS used by Mrs Gibson ends with the passage corresponding to AC vi. 18). Simon Magus and Cleobius are the only heretics named (H<sub>1</sub> p. 61); and the chief heresy ascribed to Simon (who is spoken of as meeting St Peter in Rome and as pretending to fly in the air, as in the Clementines) is the denial of the resurrection of the flesh. The Judaistic tradition ('secundatio' = Mishna) regarding the distinction between clean and unclean things is attacked. Bp Wordsworth (*MG* p. 38) sees an anti-



Montanistic aversion to austerity in Didasc, Harnack a polemic against Novatianism. At any rate the tendency of the book is such that we can understand why the AC compiler, who exhibits the same trend of thought, adopted and amplified it in his own work.

4. **The Egyptian and Ethiopic Church Orders** and the canonical part of the **Verona fragments** ( $H_3$ ) may for this purpose be taken together. The first, however, yields but little result, as it has hardly any liturgical forms. Taking EthCO and  $H_3$ , we find emphasis laid on the work of the Holy Spirit, though no technical or controversial terms are introduced which would lead us to think that the Macedonian controversy had begun; nor is anything said about the *personality* of the Third Person. Prayer is offered that he may descend on bishops and presbyters at their ordination; in the Eucharistic Thanksgiving his work in the Incarnation is spoken of (so in the baptismal Creed), and he is prayed for by name that he may cause the Eucharistic oblation to convey holiness to the communicants, and that they may be filled with him; in the baptismal Creed he is the Sanctifier (Eth) or Lifegiver (Eg); he is prayed for in the Confirmation prayer (for  $H_3$  see above, p. 106 f.); he is in the Church (EgCO 57, 62 = EthCO 43, 48).—The Eucharistic Thanksgiving also touches on the voluntary death of Jesus (cf. CH xxv. 233) who ‘spread out his hands for suffering,’ and the harrowing of hell—points much emphasised also in Test i. 23, 28; it speaks of our Lord as the Son,

the Word, the Instrument in Creation, and as sent by the Father from heaven into the Virgin's womb. Trinitarian doctrine is taught by some of the doxologies to the prayers (see below, p. 124 f.); by the answer to the Sancta Sanctis in the EthCO Liturgy (but for this see above, p. 39); and by the emphatic phrase 'consubstantial Trinity' (EgCO-sah, boh) or 'Trinity equal in Godhead' (EgCO-arab, EthCO) in the baptismal Creed. H<sub>3</sub> shares with EthCO all the above indications except those in the baptismal Creed, and such as are indicated above.

The word 'trinity' (*τριάς*, *trinitas*) is as old as Theophilus of Antioch (c. A.D. 180) who says (*ad Autol.* ii. 15) that the three first days of creation 'are types of the trinity, God, and his Word, and his Wisdom'; but perhaps it is not here a technical term. It is also found in Hippolytus (c. *Noet.* 14: 'through this Trinity the Father is glorified; for the Father willed, the Son did, the Spirit manifested') and Tertullian (*de Pudic.* 21: 'the Trinity of the one Godhead, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit'; and *adv. Prax.* 2). But the emphasis on the consubstantiality and equality of the Trinity betokens a time after the Arian troubles had begun.

5. **The Canons of Hippolytus** have the same doctrinal tone as the manuals just mentioned, if we accept as part of the book the sections which Achelis brackets and rejects. Let us first take the supposition of their genuineness. There is not the same scope in CH for an examination of doctrine as in EthCO and H<sub>3</sub>, since there are but few liturgical forms. The opening canon, however, speaks of our

Lord as Son of the living God ; the Word is the Son of God, who (the antecedent is uncertain) is Creator of every creature, visible and invisible (i. 1, 3) ; the Trinity is altogether equal in honour and glory and without beginning and end (i. 2). The Trinitarian equality is seen in the baptismal formula (xix. 133) : ' I baptize thee in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, *who is equal* ' ; in the doxology over oil etc. (see below, p. 125) ; and in the direction, not in the other Church Orders, to teachers of heathen subjects, who are received into the Church, to say to their people : ' There is no God but Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ' (xii. 69). The Holy Spirit is prayed for in the ordination prayers of bishops (iii. 13) and deacons (v. 39). In the Baptismal Creed the Holy Ghost is called ' the Paraclete, proceeding from the Father and the Son ' ; but it is difficult to suppose that the *Filioque* at least is not an interpolation. If, on the other hand, with Achelis we regard all that speaks of the ' equal Trinity ' as interpolated, there is nothing doctrinal in CH which is inconsistent with the time of Hippolytus. For the alleged interpolations, see p. 158. There is no specially ascetic tone in this Church Order ; see above, p. 94.

6. **Sarapion** does not exhibit any very decided theological characteristics. He is anti-Arian, as is shown by the phrase at the beginning of the Eucharistic thanksgiving ' We praise thee who art known of thy Son...We praise thee who knowest the Son,' where the Arian idea that the Son was ignorant of

the Father and of his own essence is attacked (see Brightman, *JThSt* i. 91); he has a special fondness for the name 'Only-begotten' (Wordsworth counts 50 instances; it is frequent also in Test, etc.). Other favourite phrases are, (God's) 'love of mankind' (*φιλανθρωπία*, with *φιλόανθρωπος*, so often Test); 'living' or 'life'; and 'uncreated' (*ἀγένητος*), of the Father. For other characteristic phrases see Wordsworth's *Sarapion*, p. 28 f. He has a special fondness for the name 'The Word' for our Lord, and in the Epiclesis at the Eucharist the Word is prayed for instead of the Holy Spirit (above, p. 54 f.); he uses *ἐπιδημία*, *ἐπιδημείν* of the Incarnation, or of the coming of the Logos in the Eucharist, or of the Spirit in ordination. He has not a very strong hold on the doctrine of the personality of the Holy Spirit; he generally uses the phrase *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* without the article, only twice with it. Generally, it may be said that Sarapion was a follower of Athanasius, but that he had not grasped the faith as fully as Athanasius; and that his doctrinal tendency indicates the period before the Macedonian controversy had arisen. For the doxologies see below, p. 124 f.

7. **The Testament of our Lord** shows a much more marked theological tendency. We may first notice the influence of Montanism on the book. The expectation of revelations and of charismatic gifts, the continuance of the prophets, the frequent references to the Apocalypse, the mention (once only, i. 24) of the 'Paraclete' (but this is common in AC

and is often found in fourth century literature), the frequent references to works of the Spirit, to bearing the cross, and to 'children of the light,' together with some non-doctrinal characteristics, such as presbyteresses, and the college of clergy, might lead us to suppose that the author was a Montanist (see Cooper-Maclean, p. 15). The ascetic tone of Test has also been alleged in this connexion, but while it is more ascetic than AC with regard to celibacy, it is less so in regard to fasting; for the treatment of post-baptismal sin see above, p. 94 f. There are several non-Montanistic features; there are no prophetesses, and the widows (presbyteresses) are to be silent in the church (above, p. 84); so that while there is a Montanistic influence at work in this Church Order, it is not itself Montanistic.—The chief characteristic of the book is a strong dislike of Arianism and of anything like an exaggerated subordinationism. Thus, the Son is named before the Father and the Holy Ghost in the Eucharistic Epiclesis (i. 23), as in 2 Co. xiii. 14, Ignatius *Magn.* 13 and ConstH 1<sup>9</sup> (see p. 153 below). Several prayers to the Son are found, as in the middle of the Eucharistic Thanksgiving and in the Epiclesis and Intercession\* (i. 23), in five of the six pro-anaphoral prayers (i. 26), and in the night prayer of widows (i. 43), all being apparently the work of the compiler. There is, moreover, in

\* The Council of Hippo, A.D. 393, forbade prayer to be addressed to the Son instead of the Father, or the Father instead of the Son, except at the altar, when prayer shall always be addressed to the Father (can. 21; Hefele ii. 398).

several of the prayers much confusion of the Persons addressed (i. 23 twice, 30, 43, ii. 7). The writer emphasises the truths that Christ dwells in Christians (i. pref., 1, 8, 17, 18, 22, 40, ii. 25), and that he clothed himself with 'man,' *i.e.* humanity (i. 28); he personifies Power, Thought, Wisdom, as names of our Lord, and is especially fond of using 'the Word' as a title (i. 23, 26 often, 28, 30, 32, 38, 43, ii. 7, 16, 24). The Word is the Creator (i. 26, first prayer). The writer has a strong hold on the doctrine of the personality of the Holy Ghost (i. 24, 26 twice, 28, 41, ii. 9, 10 [see Cooper-Maclean's note, p. 223]), but does not attack Macedonianism. The Holy Ghost is 'the Lord,' and the 'Maker of life' (ζωοποιός, i. 24, 41) and consubstantial with the Father (i. 41). Nothing is said about the procession of the Holy Spirit. The dogmatic bias of the writer makes it strange that the Holy Ghost is not prayed for in the Eucharistic Epiclesis, as almost certainly would have been the case in an author of his tone if he had written after the rise of the Macedonian heresy. The name Trinity is used (i. 19, 21, 23 thrice, ii. 7), and there are two prayers addressed to the Holy Trinity in i. 23. For other characteristics see Cooper-Maclean, p. 16 ff.

We have to consider some other tendencies which have been found in Test. Bp J. Wordsworth (*Church Qu. Rev.* Jan., Mar. 1900, *Revue internat. de théol.* 1900, vol. 31) has suggested that this Church Order arose in the school of the heretic Apollinarius, who seceded from the Church A.D. 375. There are certainly some phrases in Test,



especially in the *Mystagogia* (i. 28), which are found in works written by, or ascribed to, Apollinarius. But there is no Apollinarian heresy in Test; and it seems unlikely that the writer should have used phrases common in the circle of Apollinarius without advocating his errors, if he had been of his school and had lived after his secession. The more probable conclusion is that Test used phrases common in extreme anti-Arian circles before the outbreak of Apollinarianism. It is noteworthy that || ArD has removed the quasi-Apollinarian phrases in the *Mystagogia*. This is an indication that ArD is *later* than the rise of that heresy.

Can we trace Aphtharto-doceticism in Test? This Church Order dwells much on the thought of the incorruptibility of Jesus and of ourselves in him (i. 26, 28 twice), of God (i. 21) who is the Treasure of incorruptibility (i. 23), and of incorruptibility as attained by us through the Eucharist (ii. 25, cf. || EgCO 58, EthCO 44, H<sub>3</sub> p. 117; compare also the prayer at the lamplighting in EthCO 37 which speaks of God revealing the incorruptible light). Harnack sees traces of Aphtharto-doceticism in i. 26: 'the only-begotten Son, the Firstborn, and Word of the Father...who hast an essence that cannot be injured, where neither moth nor worm doth corrupt.' This is thought to betray the teaching of that section of the Monophysites who in the sixth century upheld the incorruptibility of our Lord's body *before* the resurrection, as opposed to the Severians who only allowed it to be incorruptible *after* the resurrection (*DCB* i. 128).

Funk, who denies this idea (*TUH* p. 301), sees in Test language directed against Nestorianism (*ib.* p. 299 f.). In the Eucharistic Thanksgiving these words are used (i. 23):—'Thou, Lord, didst send thy Word who is of thy counsel and covenant, by whom thou madest all things, being well pleased with him, into a virgin womb; who, when he was conceived (and) made flesh, was shown to be thy



Son, being born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin.' This, in a slightly shorter form, is also found in EthCO and in H<sub>3</sub> (see above, p. 50). It is not paralleled by anything in Sar, except that in this connexion (§1) Sar quotes Jn xvii. 3 'him whom thou didst send, Jesus Christ'; but in AC viii. 12<sup>30f.</sup> we have a similar phrase, though the wording is quite different: 'Holy is also thine only-begotten Son our Lord and God Jesus Christ, who...was himself pleased, according to thy will, the Creator to become man ...being born (*γενόμενος*) of a Virgin, being born in the flesh, God the Word, the Beloved Son, the Firstborn of all Creation,...he who fashioneth all that are begotten was born of a virgin womb, the Fleshless became flesh, and he that was begotten before time was born in time.' But no one would suspect AC of being an anti-Nestorian polemic. A similar sentence occurs in the presbyter's daily prayer of Test (i. 32, apparently the compiler's own words): 'We praise thee, O Lord, who didst send thy Thought, thy Word, thy Wisdom, thy Energy, him who is of old and was with thee before the worlds, the uncreated Word of the Uncreated one (cf. Sar), but appeared incarnate in the end of times for the salvation of created man, thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ.'

Both these two ideas may probably be dismissed. There is nothing in these passages which a fourth century writer might not fitly use; and those cited in the last paragraph, if possible in the mouth of the AC writer before A.D. 400, are equally so in that of the Test writer in the same century.

8. **The Apostolic Constitutions** have also a clearly marked doctrinal tendency, though perhaps not so emphatic as that of Test, of whose dogmatic standpoint we find here almost the exact opposite. There is in AC a somewhat definite subordinationism. Thus: 'As Christ does nothing without the Father,

so neither does a deacon do anything without his bishop, and as the Son without the Father is nothing, so..., and as the Son is subject to the Father, so..., and as the Son is messenger and prophet of the Father, so' etc. (ii. 30<sup>2</sup>). '*Let the deacon refer all things to the bishop as Christ does to the Father...*, receiving power from the bishop, as the Lord [Christ] did from the Father the power [of creation and] of providence'\* (ii. 44<sup>3</sup>). These sentences, except the italicised clause which is in || Didasc, are the work of the AC compiler. So in the sentence in the Eucharistic Thanksgiving (viii. 12<sup>30</sup>): 'who in all things ministered to thee his God and Father.' So where Didasc says (*DidCA* i. 104): 'The deacon stands as a type of Christ; therefore let him be loved by you. But let the deaconess be honoured by you as a type of the Holy Ghost,' the || AC ii. 26<sup>5</sup> has: 'Let the deacon serve him (the bishop) as Christ serves the Father (some MSS omit the last phrase, or read: 'as the powers do to God,' orthodox corrections), and let him minister to him in all things without blame, as Christ, doing nothing of himself, ever does that which pleases the Father. Let also the deaconess be honoured by you as a type of the Holy Ghost, and not do or say anything without the deacon, as neither does the Paraclete do or say anything of himself, but, glorifying Christ, waits for his will.' Though the AC writer calls Jesus 'this Saviour, our King and God' (ii. 24<sup>7</sup>), taking the phrase

\* The || EthD 8 modifies this a little, and adds: 'There is one will of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.'

from || Didasc\*, yet he avoids the use of Θεός absolutely for our Lord. These are a few out of a large number of instances.—The author never attributes a human soul to our Lord, and in one passage (vi. 26<sup>2</sup>) is thought to deny it. ‘Some...imagine the Lord to be a mere (ψιλόν) man, supposing him to consist of a soul and body; but others of them think that Jesus himself is the God over all, and glorify him as his own Father, and (think of him) as both Son and Paraclete. What can be more detestable than these (doctrines)?’ Generally speaking, he inclines to semi-Arianism without being actually heretical. It will be remembered that the Arians put the Logos in the place of the human soul of our Lord. There is little probability in the idea of Funk, rejected by Lightfoot (*Ignatius* i. 271 f.), that the AC writer was an Apollinarian. His tendency is rather the opposite one.—We may notice also the stress that he lays on our being baptized into the death of Christ; *e.g.* ii. 7<sup>1</sup> (so || EthD 3), iii. 17<sup>1</sup>, v. 7<sup>30</sup>, vi. 15<sup>1</sup>, 23<sup>5</sup>, vii. 22<sup>2</sup>, 25<sup>5</sup>, 43<sup>3,5</sup> (not in || D or Didasc). For other doctrinal characteristics see Brightman *LEW* p. xxv f.; such as the emphasis on the title ‘First begotten of all creation,’ and on the high priesthood of Christ, on the frequent use of the name ‘Paraclete’ for the Holy Ghost, and on his witness (*e.g.* in the phrase in the Eucharistic Epiclesis [viii. 12<sup>39</sup>] adopted by the Nonjurors’ Liturgy of 1718: ‘the witness of the

\* But it omits the phrase of Didasc a few lines before ‘Ye did not believe our Saviour God’ which, as the context shows, refers to our Lord.

sufferings of the Lord Jesus'; cf. Jn xv. 26, 1 Pet. v. 1). For the doxologies, see below.

If we could be sure that the interpolator of the Ignatian Epistles was the same as the AC writer,—an identity which Brightman (*LEW* p. xxvii f.), Lagarde, Funk, Ussher, and Harnack affirm, but Lightfoot (*Ignatius* i. 265 ff., ed. 2) denies,—we could speak much more positively on the doctrinal standpoint, as the indications in the passages interpolated into the Ignatian epistles are more definite than those in AC. The interpolator certainly denied our Lord's human soul (*Philipp.* 5, *Philad.* 6), but also certainly was not an Arian, though his leanings were in that direction. See the matter treated fully in Lightfoot *loc. cit.*

It has already been said (p. 91) that AC is not ascetic on clerical marriage. In vi. 26<sup>3</sup> he takes over from Didasc and extends a passage condemning those who 'abstain from meats and forbid to marry'; and generally he is against severity in dealing with penitents (p. 94).

9. **Doxologies to the prayers, etc.** The doxologies have been reserved to the end of this chapter, as we must consider all the Church Orders together with regard to them. The doxologies used may be thought to give indications of theological tendencies.

The prayers usually end with an ascription of praise and glory to God in one of four ways: (a) through Christ to the Father, in or with the Holy

Ghost ; this is the most common form, and is found in CH three times, in EthCO six times (excluding the interpolated statute 40 A, where it is the regular form, occurring fourteen times, but including the latter part of the Liturgy which is probably an addition ; see above p. 39), in Test seven times, in AC vii., viii. seven times, in ConstH five times, in Sar most frequently ; also in Pseudo-Pionius *Life of Polycarp*, § 23 (Lightfoot, *Ignatius* iii. 455) ; cf. Basil *de Spir. S.*, as below ; ( $\beta$ ) through Christ to the Father, as in EthCO once (once also in statute 40 A), Test twice, AC four times, Sar several times ; ( $\gamma$ ) ‘to thee [the Father], to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,’ or ‘glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost’ (or similar phrase), as in CH for ‘every single prayer said over oil, firstfruits, etc.,’ (iii. 29, but see below), EthCO twice, H<sub>3</sub> twice, EgCO once (the only occasion where a doxology occurs in this manual), AC twice\* (viii. 12<sup>50</sup>, 15<sup>9</sup>), Test five times ; also with : ‘through whom be glory...to thee, Father and Son with the Holy Ghost’, twice in EthCO, thrice in H<sub>3</sub> and once in CH (xxxviii. 26<sup>1</sup>) ; ( $\delta$ ) ‘with Christ to the Father and to the Holy Ghost,’ AC fourteen times (Funk’s revised text). Besides this, CH (xxxvi. 193) has a doxology in a prayer over firstfruits ‘through Christ and the Holy Ghost.’ In AC some prayers end without a doxology, or with ‘thine is

\* Cf. also in the Gloria in excelsis: ‘God the Father Almighty, Lord, Only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, and Holy Ghost’ (AC vii. 47 ; so also in Codex Alex. [*OT in Greek*, ed. Swete, iii. 833]). But this may be an addition to AC (see above, p. 29), and the text is uncertain (see Funk *DidCA* i. 456). So AC vii. 48<sup>3</sup>.

the glory and power for ever' (vii. 27<sup>2</sup>, cf. vii. 33<sup>7</sup>), or merely 'through Jesus Christ' (vii. 34<sup>8</sup>). H<sub>3</sub> (p. 115) has once merely: 'through whom be glory to thee'; EthS 40 A has once 'to Son and to Father,' and once 'to the Father with the Holy Ghost.'

These facts have a considerable doctrinal significance. Mr Brightman says (*JThSt* i. 92) that  $\alpha$  was perhaps the usual form, at least in some Churches;  $\gamma$  is said by Philostorgius (*HE* iii. 13) to have been first used by Flavian of Antioch, c. A.D. 350; 'but this is the prejudiced statement of an Arian, which is sufficiently refuted by St Basil *de Spiritu Sancto*.' This work of St Basil may be called a treatise on the doxology. The author says that he himself used in doxologies the form 'to the Father, with ( $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ ) the Son, together with ( $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ ) the Holy Ghost,' or 'to...through ( $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ )... in' (for the latter he quotes Eusebius of Caesarea and others), and affirms that they are both the same thing as saying 'to Father and Son and Holy Ghost,' joining the Three together as our Lord does [Mt xxviii. 19], and Clement of Rome [*Cor.* 58] and other fathers, or as in the ancient form in the thanksgiving at the Lamplighting: 'We praise Father, Son, and God's Holy Spirit'; there is (he adds) no one written form (see esp. §§ i., iv., xxv., xxix.).—The form  $\alpha$ , which is the most common one in the Church Orders—we may class  $\beta$  with it—was probably the usual doxology in the first half or first three quarters of the fourth century. But the Arians and Macedonians took it up warmly as implying the inferiority of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and this caused it to decline in



favour. Sozomen (*HE* iii. 20) says that in the doxologies at the end of the antiphonal odes 'some offered praise to the Father and the Son,' regarding them as coequal in glory, and that others glorified 'the Father in the Son.' He is speaking of the times of Athanasius. But we find that in Egypt, *c.* A.D. 370, Didymus (*de Trin.* i. 32, 34, iii. 23) treats the form  $\alpha$  as heretical, though Athanasius had sometimes used it. Its presence then in so many Church Orders is a mark of antiquity. Funk (*TUH* 53 f., 156 f., 235 f.) holds that the predominance of  $\alpha$  in AC and of  $\gamma$  in EthCO and  $H_3$  is a sure proof of the priority of the first over the other two. This, however, is a very uncertain test, even if the facts were as stated. Much depends on the place of writing and on the tone of thought of the writer. In Egypt, in anti-Arian circles, the common form  $\alpha$  soon sank into disfavour. We are not therefore surprised to find  $\gamma$  in CH, EgCO, EthCO,  $H_3$ . But elsewhere the change was much slower, as St Basil shows. The semi-Arian tendency of AC amply accounts for the occurrence in that work of the older form  $\alpha$ , even though the writer lived in the last quarter of the fourth century (see below, p. 149 f.; he doubtless wrote in Syria). Yet the form  $\gamma$  is found twice (or once) in AC vii., viii., and the half-way form  $\delta$  no less than fourteen times. What is much more noteworthy is that in Test, a strongly anti-Arian work, the form  $\alpha$  or  $\beta$  is used nine out of fourteen times. This points to that manual having been written before the controversy on the doxology became acute in the writer's country.



## CHAPTER VIII

### FESTIVALS, FASTS, AND SEASONS\*

1. **The Festal Cycle.** The development of festivals in the early ages of Christianity was very gradual; and the Church Orders bear witness to this fact. In some places, towards the end of the fourth century, for example in Syria and at Jerusalem, it was more rapid than elsewhere; and we see traces in some authorities of a desire to increase the number of festivals. No festival is mentioned in D and ApCO; in Didasc only Easter; in CH, EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>, Pentecost also. Test, which gives elaborate rules for Easter, and one or two for Pentecost, adds also Epiphany (the commemoration of the Nativity), though it only just mentions it; it would almost seem that it had only recently been introduced. It is rather curious that EdCan calls Epiphany (on January 6, expressly) the chief of the festivals of the Church (can. 6). Now neither Epiphany (January 6)

\* Reference may be made to the author's article on 'The Christian Calendar' in *DCG* i. 251 ff., where the subject of this chapter is treated in greater detail.

nor Christmas (December 25) seems to have been observed *as festivals* before the fourth century, and it was not till the last quarter of that century that they were both observed together in the same Church. In AC (and || ConstH, also in || SEC 75 and EthS 67) we have a much more elaborate system: Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Christmas, Epiphany (commemorating the baptism of Christ), the Apostles' days (plural), 'the day of Stephen...and the rest of the holy martyrs' are given in AC viii. 33 (Funk *DidCA* i. 541, and Horner, p. 214, understand the last to mean 'the day of Stephen...and the *days* of the other martyrs'; for St Stephen's day cf. also AC v. 8<sup>1</sup>, which also mentions 'James the Bishop'). In v. 13<sup>1f</sup>. Christmas is said to fall on the 25th day of the ninth month, and Epiphany on the 6th day of the tenth month. We see here, then, a great extension of the cycle; it must be noticed that AC exhibits an enthusiastic desire to extend it beyond what had been customary. —In 'Silvia' c. A.D. 385, we have Epiphany with Octaves (Christmas was not yet a separate festival at Jerusalem); Presentation of our Lord in the Temple, forty days after Epiphany, which here is the commemoration of the Nativity; Palm Sunday; Easter with Octaves\*; the fortieth day after Easter, apparently not the feast of the Ascension, which was commemorated, together with the descent of the Holy Ghost, at Pentecost†; Pentecost; the Dedication

\* Easter week is also mentioned in AC viii. 33<sup>8</sup> (slaves rest from work then) and in Augustine *Ep.* LV. 32 Ben., *ad Januarium*.

† So EdCan 9, but the reading is doubtful; cf. Barnabas 15,

(Holy Cross day). Perhaps also there was a martyrs' festival, but there is a lacuna in the MS after the reference to the Dedication.—Of the Cappadocian fathers, Grégory of Nyssa, in the funeral oration on his brother St Basil (*In laudem fratris Basilii, ad init.*), mentions the commemoration of the Apostles and Prophets after Christmas, namely Stephen, Peter, James, John, Paul (perhaps all on one day). A Syriac Martyrology c. A.D. 400 (*DCG* i. 263) gives St Stephen on December 26, St James and St John on December 27, St Peter and St Paul on December 28. The death-days of martyrs (called in Latin *natales*) are ordered to be commemorated in EdCan 18; and of this we have other instances, e.g. the letter of the Smyrnaeans on the martyrdom of Polycarp, § 18, Cyprian *Ep.* xxxix. (xxxiii.) 3 (he mentions the Eucharist at such commemorations), and Basil *Ep.* xciii.

It appears from what has been said that in the fourth century there was a considerable development. The cycle of festivals in AC is the same as that of St Chrysostom (*De beato Philogonio* 3, A.D. 386); and this fact goes far to date and place this Church Order. The observance at Antioch of both December 25 and January 6 first took place less than ten years before 386 (Chrysostom in *Diem Natal.* 1); but the former festival was unknown to Epiphanius A.D. 375

where the Ascension is (perhaps) said to have taken place on a Sunday ('the eighth day,' so numbered because following the sabbath); some indeed have interpreted Barnabas as meaning that our Lord rose and ascended on the same day (so Harnack). See Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 68 f.

(*Haer.* li. 16, 27), and, as we have just seen, at Jerusalem at a still later date. The fact that AC seems to *press* the separation of Epiphany and Christmas would point to a date at least as early as St Chrysostom's writings just quoted. In Alexandria we do not hear of their being separated before A.D. 432 ; but the division may have taken place some years before that, as Augustine tells us that in his time both days were observed (*Serm.* 199—204 Ben. (on the Epiphany) : see especially *Serm.* 201 ; cf. *DCG* i. 262).

2. **Date of Easter.** Those of our authors who mention Easter are clearly no Quartodecimans. Easter with them always falls on a Sunday. But they do not all agree as to the computation of the Paschal fast and festival. CH (xxii. 195) says that the week when the Jews observe Pascha is to be carefully observed by all the people. So Didasc v. 17<sup>1</sup> (*DidCA* p. 286, Gibson p. 97) bids Christians keep this feast with all care 'when your brethren of the Nation keep the Passover.' And the fourth century Pseudo-Pionius (*Life of Polycarp* 2, Lightfoot, *Ignatius* iii. 434) says that Pascha is not to be kept outside the season of unleavened bread as the heretics do, especially the Phrygians [Montanists], nor yet on the other hand of necessity on the fourteenth day. But AC (v. 17, parallel to Didasc as above) enjoins independence of the Jews; the 'days of Pascha' (see below, p. 132) are to be observed exactly, and after the vernal equinox, so that

the 'memorial of the one Passion' be not kept twice in one year; Christians are not to be careful to keep the feast with the Jews, for there is no communion with them, and the Jews have erred in their calculation; the day of the Resurrection is always to be kept on a Sunday. So ApCan 7 deposes any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, who keeps Easter before the vernal equinox with the Jews (cf. can. 70). It is a little remarkable that the compilers of CH and Didasc, and Pseudo-Pionius should say what they do, for Hippolytus and others had made their careful (but, as it proved, inexact) calculations with the purpose of making the Christians independent of the Jews (*DCG* i. 258; Wordsworth *MG* 359 ff.). It appears therefore that these writers had not come under the influence of Hippolytus in this matter; whatever may be said of the CH writer, the other two, at least, lived long after Hippolytus' time. The other Church Orders do not allude to the subject.

3. '**Pascha**' and '**Pentecost.**' These terms in the Church Orders more frequently denote a season than a day. We read of 'the days of Pascha' or 'the forty days of Pascha,' meaning the season *before* the feast of the Resurrection (Test ii. 8, 18; so ApCan 69, but some MSS omit τοῦ πάσχα here). In Test i. 28, 'Pascha' is said to include the Saturday and Sunday of Easter, and in the context is joined to 'the *days* of Epiphany and of Pentecost.' The last week of 'Pascha' includes Maundy Thursday (ii. 11) and the 'end of Pascha' is Easter Even at midnight

(ii. 12). On the other hand Test once mentions the 'feast of Pascha' (i. 42). In CH xxii. 197 Holy Week is called the 'time of Pascha.' In EgCO 55, H<sub>3</sub> p. 116, no one is to take anything 'in the Pascha' before [the Eucharist], where || EthCO 41 has 'during the fasts of Pascha'; while the same section of EgCO speaks of 'the day of the Pascha,' but || EthCO 41 and H<sub>3</sub> simply have 'the day.' In AC v. 13<sup>sf</sup>. we read of 'the holy week of Pascha' and 'the fast of Pascha'; in v. 17<sup>1</sup>, 18<sup>1</sup> (so || Didasc) of 'the days of Pascha.' But ApCan 7 speaks of 'the holy day of Pascha.'

Similarly 'Pentecost' means both the fifty days from Easter Day to Whitsunday, and also Whitsunday itself. For the former cf. 'the days of Pentecost' in Nicaea can. 20; and Test i. 28, 42, ii. 12, Tertullian *de Bapt.* 19 (both senses are used there), Origen *c. Cels.* viii. 22 (both senses), Basil *De Spir. S.* xxvii. (66). For the latter see Ac. ii. 1, xx. 16, 1 Co. xvi. 8, Elvira can. 43, 'Silvia' vi. and Tertullian *de Cor.* 3. The phrase 'after Pentecost' in CH xvii. 198, EgCO 55, EthCO 41, H<sub>3</sub> p. 116 (where one who could not fast in Pascha because of illness is told to carry out this duty at the later season) might fit either meaning.

4. **Fasts.** The germ of future fasts may perhaps be seen in D 7 f., which prescribes (a) fasts on Wednesday and Friday, in emulation of the Jews ('the hypocrites') who fasted on Monday and Thursday—so it is stated explicitly; (b) a fast of a day or two before baptism for the candidate, the baptizer, and others who are able. As Easter is not mentioned



in this manual, the baptismal fast in it is very significant. The pre-baptismal fast for the candidate and others is alluded to in Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 61, Tertullian *de Bapt.* 20; and in the *Clementine Recognitions* vii. 36, where it is for one day.

It will be convenient to collect the facts about the fasts from the Church Orders, and then to consider what deductions may be drawn from them.

(i) *Fast of Pascha.*

(a) There is a two days' absolute fast before Easter in EgCO 55, EthCO 41, H<sub>3</sub> p. 116, Test ii 20, and no other Paschal fast is mentioned in these books. In Test, indeed, as stated above, the 'forty days of Pascha' are spoken of, but there is no word of fasting then (ii. 8); the people are to keep vigil and to pray in the church, hearing the Scriptures and hymns of praise and books of doctrine. Funk (*TUH* p. 65) thinks that the 'forty days' were probably fasts. But the evidence is the other way; the compiler is so particular in laying down rules, that if he does not do so, we are led to suppose that it is of set purpose, or else that the rules had not entered his head because they did not exist around him. It is true, as Funk says, that the injunction to fast absolutely on two days does not necessitate the absence of a partial fast on the preceding days (see below,  $\beta$  and  $\epsilon$ ). But the absence in these Church Orders of any direction to fast for forty days would be surprising if as a matter of fact the forty days' fast existed in



their Churches. A parallel to the Test conception of the Forty Days merely as a solemn season may be seen in the fifth canon of Nicaea where the τεσσαρακοστή is only mentioned as a season before which synods are held; nothing is said about fasting during the season, and it is not very likely that as early as A.D. 325 a forty days' fast was, at any rate, common. Irenaeus speaks of a variety of usage in the second century, mentioning fasts of one day, of two days, of forty hours; and shows that the variety in his time had long existed; Eusebius (*HE* v. 24<sup>12</sup>) gives the passage. For the two days' fast see Tertullian *de Jejun.* 13 f. In these Church Orders sick persons who cannot fast the two days are allowed to fast on the Saturday only\*. This has some bearing on the question whether the two days' fast was a Good Friday fast prolonged, or simply a fast in preparation for Easter; as a matter of fact, in the Church Orders mentioned above, the Friday before Easter is only mentioned in connexion with the preparation of candidates for baptism (see above, p. 97). It is not impossible that these compilers commemorated the Death and Resurrection of our Lord on the same day (see further, *DCG* i. 259); or at least that this was the case with their sources (see  $\delta$  below).

( $\beta$ ) We find a Holy Week fast, not an absolute one, in *CH* xxii. 195—198, where bread, salt, and water are allowed, and in *Didasc* v. 14 (*DidCA* i. 278, Gibson p. 95): 'from the Monday fast fully six days, till the

\* So also *AC* v. 132.

night after the sabbath.' This at first sight seems inconsistent with a later passage, v. 18 (*DidCA* i. 288, Gibson p. 98), but the inconsistency seems to be due to the quotation from Ex. xii. 3—6; the meaning is that from Monday to Thursday a partial fast is kept with bread, salt, and water (cf. CH), but that on Friday and Saturday an absolute fast is prescribed\*. For the Holy Week fast see Dionysius of Alexandria *Ep. ad Basiliden* can. 1 (where he says that some fasted absolutely the whole six days, some two, some three, some four days, but others not even one day), and Epiphanius (*Haer.* l. 1—3, *Exp. fid.* 22), who says that the Quartodecimans only observed one day's fast.

(γ) The Montanists observed 'two weeks of xerophagies' (partial fasts) in the year, Saturdays and Sundays being excepted (*Tertullian de Jejun.* 15). This is expressly said to be more than the fasts of the Catholics.

(δ) A forty days' fast is found in EdCan 7, which speaks of fasting for the 'forty days before the day of the passion of our Saviour'; 'then' Christians are to 'celebrate the day of the passion and the day of the resurrection.' The reason given for fasting for forty days is that our Lord, Moses, and Elijah fasted for that period. Thus the forty days included Holy Week, as in Test, or at least the greater part of it. It is possible that here also we have a relic of the observance of the Passion and the Resurrection on the same day (see above, α).

\* The chronology of Didasc as to the events of Holy Week is much confused.

(ε) A forty days' fast and a Holy Week fast in addition are found in AC v. 13<sup>3f</sup>, 18, the last two days being kept as an absolute fast; Mk ii. 20 is quoted. So also Holy Week is an extra week of Lent in Pseudo-Ignatius *Philipp.* 13; the forty days are first mentioned, and then the 'week of the passion.' This makes a fast in all of nearly fifty days, and this is the custom of the Orthodox and of the East Syrians to this day. It seems to have been a common custom in the East from the latter years of the fourth century onwards, but not in Palestine or Egypt; nor did it obtain in the West (see Brightman *LEW* p. xxviii). In ApCan 69 it is not stated if the 'holy forty days [of Pascha]' include Holy Week or not, but they are a compulsory fast for all men; so also in CH xx. 154.

### (ii) *Baptismal fasts.*

The fast before baptism is found in D 7 (as above); in CH xix 150—152 (bracketed by Achelis), for the candidates *and others* (cf. D. etc. as above p. 133), but the length of the fast is not stated; also in CH xix. 106 and || EgCO 45, EthCO 34 (H<sub>3</sub> has a lacuna here) on the Friday before Easter, for the candidates; in || Test ii 6 the fast is extended to Friday and Saturday. In AC vii. 22<sup>4</sup> a fast is prescribed for the candidates—though its duration is not stated—because Jesus fasted after his baptism, and reasons are given for the difference of fasting before and after baptism.—Thus we have a double injunction to fast on these days, both as a preparation

for Easter, and as a preparation for baptism. As baptism ordinarily took place early on Easter morning, this is a repetition, but doubtless an intentional repetition, since baptism might take place at another time, and moreover catechumens would hardly come under the stricter law of fasting which would be binding on the faithful. The suspicion arises that the fast before baptism is the real rationale of the fast before Easter; or at any rate that the author of the original of these parallel Church Orders considered it in that light (see further *DCG* i. 258 f.).

(iii) *Weekly fasts.*

Weekly fasts are found in most of the Church Orders. Wednesday and Friday fasts, as stated above, are found in D 8, and so in || AC vii. 23<sup>1</sup> which adds: 'or the entire five days,' i.e. from Monday to Friday inclusive (for Saturday fasting, except on Easter Eve, is forbidden in AC; see v. 20<sup>18f.</sup>, which also prescribes the Wednesday and Friday fasts). So also we find these two fasts in CH xx. 154, ArD 38, ApCan 69, Pseudo-Ignatius *Philipp.* 13, Tertullian *de Jejun.* 2, 14, Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* vii. 12. 75, Origen *in Lev. Hom.* x. 2, Peter of Alexandria *Ep. canon.* 15, Epiphanius *Exp. Fid.* 22. The mention in EdCan 3 f. of service on these two days points to their being fasts.

But Test prescribes no fixed days for weekly fasts, only contemplating the contingency of a fast day happening in the week (i. 22). So Hermas (*Sim.* v. i)

does not say which were the fast days, and perhaps they were indeterminate in his time. Bp J. Wordsworth (*MG* p. 327) conjectures that except in Egypt the observance of the Wednesday and Friday fasts was not general, or died out, and that their restoration was due to Epiphanius. 'Silvia' speaks of the observance of Wednesday and Friday in *Lent*, and says that unless a festival of the martyrs fell on one of them even the catechumens fasted.

Special fasts are prescribed in Test (i. 22) for bishops, first for three weeks after their ordination, and then on three days in every week for the rest of the first year, some relaxation being allowed on Sundays; but it is not stated which were the days. ArD 23, 38 has the same rule, but (§ 38) limits the three weeks' fast to the first five days of each week, and definitely excludes the season of Pentecost: also it introduces a mention of Wednesday and Friday fasts. In EgCO 47 (cf. EthCO 36; the || H<sub>3</sub> is wanting) widows and virgins are bidden to fast often; presbyters and laymen (Eth says 'deacons' also) are to fast 'at any time that they will'; but the bishop ought not to fast except when all the people fast.

We can now see what bearing these facts have upon the determination of the surroundings of the Church Orders. A forty days' Lenten fast was unknown till the fourth century\*, and this at once determines that AC, EdCan, CH (unless interpolated

\* A reference to the forty days' fast in Rufinus' translation of *Origen in Lev. Hom.* x. 2 is doubtless his interpolation.

here, as Achelis supposes), and Pseudo-Ignatius, are not earlier than that time. Fasting for forty days seems to have gradually grown during the fourth century. Even in the fifth century Socrates tells us (*HE* v. 22) that the Lenten fast varied; at Rome it was three weeks, save Saturday and Sunday; in Illyria and Greece and at Alexandria it was six weeks, elsewhere seven weeks, but still called τεσσαρακοστή. This will make us suspect that the name τεσσαρακοστή in the instances given above must not be tied down to the exact number forty. And the fact that in so many places the catechumenate lasted for forty days from the final choosing of the 'competentes'\* may have done much to fix forty days as the length of the fast preparatory to Easter and to the Easter baptism. But the absence of a forty days' fast in EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>, Test, and Didasc, points to the comparatively early date of these Church Orders.

Fasting was forbidden on Sundays or in Pentecost; cf. AC v. 20<sup>19</sup> (not in || Didasc). So in Test ii. 12 it is forbidden to fast or kneel (cf. above p. 38) during these fifty days, and workmen are to relax their work 'in the days of Pentecost and on every first day of the week.'

\* At Elvira, c. A.D. 305, it lasted for two years, and, as we have seen (p. 16 f.), in EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>, Test, it lasted for three years, counting all the stages of it.

## CHAPTER IX

### RELATIVE POSITION AND DATES OF THE CHURCH ORDERS

1. It was remarked in the first chapter of this book that several of the Church Orders agree so closely together that it is necessary to postulate a common original for them. This applies to those in the first division particularly, but also to those in two of the other divisions. The problem is not unlike that of the Synoptic Gospels. Let us then begin by taking the first division, and endeavour to place the manuals contained in it in their right order, and to fix their approximate dates. Here we shall find very considerable differences of opinion, and any result which we obtain must be considered tentative only. It is well, however, at the outset to make quite clear what the question is. Most of these Church Orders are parts of longer compilations; and it is often necessary to separate the question of the date of the Church Order from that of the date of the compilation. In the case of AC, indeed, it is common ground that the compiler of the eight books was also the compiler of the Church Order found in book viii. In the case



of SEC (the Egyptian Heptateuch) and EthS it is very unlikely that the compilers of the whole were also the compilers of EgCO and EthCO respectively; for the same matter is gone over twice, in different ways—that is, first in EgCO (EthCO) and then in the Church Order which is nearly identical with AC viii. He would be a strange compiler who published in the same work a Church Order of his own and a closely parallel Church Order adapted from AC. We must, then, be on our guard against assuming that the date of a Church Order is necessarily the date of the compilation in which it is found. On the other hand we must remember that all the writers of the first division, with, at most, a single exception, used one or more sources. And it is always possible that the Church Orders themselves have been more or less interpolated. We have then, further, to guard against the presupposition that the date of a Church Order, as a separate work, is necessarily the date of either the earliest or of the latest custom or phrase found in it. For example, the reference to persecution does not necessarily mean that AC is ante-Nicene, nor the presence of the *Filioque* in CH that that manual belongs to the sixth century. The question to be solved is, At what dates did these writers produce out of the materials at their hand the Church Orders, as separate books of instruction and guidance for their fellow Christians?

2. **Hypothesis of a Lost Original.** One of the Church Orders in our first division must be the

source on which the rest depend, or all must depend on some lost source. The view that one of them is the source on which the rest depend is taken by Achelis (*Die Can. Hipp.*) and Funk, the former taking CH, the latter AC viii. as the original. Funk's hypothesis will be considered later; but it seems desirable to say here at once why in the present writer's opinion Achelis' view (at any rate in the form in which he has put it) cannot be accepted. Putting aside the questions of the passages marked by Achelis as interpolations (below p. 157 f.) and of the Hippolytean authorship, it is hardly credible that there should be such a large amount of material in CH which does not appear in *any* of the other Church Orders, if CH is the parent of them all. The preface (i. 1—6) would surely have left some trace behind it; the ordination prayer for bishops could hardly be the original of that in the other manuals, containing as it does so many phrases which have absolutely disappeared (above p. 75 f.); that for deacons (p. 71) has left no trace in the other Church Orders; the provisions about married and travelling presbyters (viii., ix. 55—58), the exhortation in xxxviii. 255—261, and the rules about vestments at the Eucharist (xxxvii. 201—204) are wholly wanting elsewhere; as also are several individual passages, for which see Cooper-Maclean p. 9, note.

We may conclude, then, that CH is not the original; indeed Achelis only maintains that it is so after omitting several passages which he marks as interpolations (not, however, most of those just noted).

We shall see equal reasons later for rejecting Funk's hypothesis. If so, it follows that there must have been an original which is now lost; for no one maintains that any other extant manual is the source of all the others.

One indication that these Church Orders depend on a lost Original is that they contain obscure and confused passages which it is impossible to understand completely, and which could not with any probability be held to be original in any of the manuals. Take, for instance, a phrase in EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>, and Test about the first communion of the neophytes. Each writer has treated the phrase in a different way :

#### ETHCO 35 (Horner)

He (the bishop) shall give thanks over the bread and the cup; the bread that it may become the body of our Lord Christ, and the cup, the wine mixed, that it may become the blood of our Lord Christ, this which was shed for us and for all of us indeed who believe in him...[milk and honey]...All this the bishop shall go through to those who are baptized. And the water also of the Oblation he shall show in the bread like the inward part of man, who is soul as well as body.

#### H<sub>3</sub> p. 112

Gratias agat panem quidem in exemplum, quod dicit Graecus antitypum, corporis Christi; calicem uino mixtum propter antitypum, quod dicit Graecus similitudinem, sanguis quod effusum est pro omnibus qui crediderunt in eum...[milk and honey]...aquam uero in oblationem in indicium lauacri, ut et interior homo, quod est animale, similia consequantur (*sic*) sicut et corpus.

## TEST ii. 10

Let the shepherd give thanks. But the bread is offered for a type of my body. Let the cup be mixed with wine—mixed with wine and water, for it is a sign of blood and of the laver; so that also the inner man, that is to say, that which is of the soul, may be counted worthy of those things which are like (them), that is to say, those things of the body also.

There is nothing in any of the other Church Orders corresponding to these difficult passages about the water in the chalice. We may probably conclude that there was such a passage in the original Church Order, that it early became corrupt, and that some compilers omitted it as unintelligible, while others made the best sense they could out of it. We cannot conceive that any of the above passages is the original of the others.

Or, again, take as an example the treatment of the honorary presbyterate of confessors (above, p. 87 ff.). In all these Orders, with the exception of AC (which in this instance could not possibly be the original of the rest, and which in any case has not become corrupted in the MSS) the passage is hopelessly confused, though the general sense is clear. Here again we can hardly believe that any one of them is the parent of all the others.

The same thing is seen from some passages which are not confused. Take the passage about soldiers (CH xiii. f. 71—75, EgCO 41, EthCO 28 f., Test ii. 2, AC viii. 32<sup>10</sup>, ConstH 22<sup>10</sup>; see above, p. 97). CH says that no one who has received the power of

killing or is a soldier is to be received. Those who, being soldiers, are commanded to fight, but have abstained from evil talk and have not placed crowns on their heads, etc. (may be received); a magistrate *not clothed with justice* is to be excommunicated; no Christian is to become a soldier except by force, and if so he is not to shed blood. EgCO says that a soldier who is in authority is not to kill men; if commanded to do so he is not to hasten to the work, nor to swear; one who has power over the sword or a magistrate of a city who is *clothed with purple*, unless he leaves (his occupation), is to be rejected; no catechumen or believer is to become a soldier. EthCO says that a soldier of the prince is not to be received, and if ordered to kill he is not to do so; a soldier, whether baptized or a catechumen,...and a magistrate with the sword, or chief of prefects, and he *who is clad in red* is to be rejected; no catechumen or believer is to become a soldier. [H<sub>3</sub> has a lacuna here.] Test says that a soldier or one in authority is to be taught not to oppress or kill or rob... but if they wish to be baptized they must leave (their occupation). No catechumen or believer is to become a soldier. For AC and ConstH, which remove the prohibition, see above, p. 97. In these passages the meaning is quite clear. Yet the wording is such that we can hardly conceive any one of them to be the source of the rest.

It does not, of course, necessarily follow that each of the extant Church Orders is independent of all the others, except in being derived from a common

original. There is much evidence, for example, that the Test writer had a manual very like H<sub>3</sub> before him when he was writing\*. But it seems clear that those Orders which are now extant *are not all in one line of tradition*. For example, it is commonly said that Test is derived from the Church Order of the Egyptian Church, and this is very possibly true, if we take that phrase in a wide sense, as meaning some Church Order written in Egypt; but Test is certainly independent of our EgCO in some things; *e.g.* in the formula of submission to God at baptism and in the baptismal creed; in much of the baptismal section (ii. 8) Test is unlike EgCO and nearer CH and H; so the passage (ii. 11) about alms for a widow† is in Test and CH, not in EgCO; that quoted above about the water in the chalice is in Test, H<sub>3</sub>, and EthCO, not in EgCO.

It appears, then, to be a fundamental mistake to assume that, if one of these Church Orders has earlier features than another, it must be its direct ancestor. Indeed it would not be surprising if it proved to be the case that most of the extant manuals had only an indirect relationship with one another, as cousins rather than as parents or children. At any rate it is probable that many forms of the Original Church Order were extant in widely different circles—Montanist, Catholic, anti-Arian, semi-Arian,

\* Similarly it is manifest that ApCO was known to, and had a great influence upon, him.

† Another very confused passage (see CH xxxii. 160—163, and Arendzen's translation of the Arabic in *JThSt* iv. 282), which illustrates the necessity of our present hypothesis of a lost Original.



perhaps Arian—and that each author dealt very freely with his materials, adapting them as he thought best for his own immediate surroundings. It is not improbable that many of the writers were bishops, drawing up rules for their own dioceses.

It may be permissible to hazard a conjecture with regard to the 'Lost Church Order.' It is quite possible that it was the work of the great Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, and that this was the reason why two of the extant manuals (CH, ConstH) received their titles. We know that Hippolytus wrote a work called *The Apostolic Tradition* (ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις); this is mentioned on the Chair of Hippolytus at Rome\* immediately after the treatise *Of Gifts* (περὶ χαρισμάτων). Perhaps these two works came together in the earliest MSS, and were read as one book, which would account for the arrangement of ConstH and AC viii (where the sections *Of Gifts* are followed immediately by the Church Order), and also for the prologue of H<sub>3</sub> (below, p. 162 f.). Lightfoot, indeed, regards these two phrases as one single title (περὶ χ. ἀπ. παράδοσις), but he thinks that perhaps Hippolytus drew up some canons, and that early canonists prefixed to their canons some sentences of Hippolytus from the περὶ χαρισμάτων (*Clement*, ii. 400; see also his remarks on p. 402 and his account of the chair at pp. 440 ff. 324 ff.). Either of these hypotheses would account

\* A marble chair, with part of a seated figure, was discovered near Rome (close to San Lorenzo) in 1551, and was proved to be that of Hippolytus by the names of the works inscribed on the back. It is in the Lateran Museum. The date, according to Lightfoot, is c. A.D. 236.



for the phenomena.—It is probable that the Lost Church Order contained at least the outline of a Liturgy, and also ordination prayers and rules for the organisation of the Christian community.

### 3. Date of the Apostolic Constitutions.

It will be convenient to begin with this work, as there is general agreement that it was compiled, and that the Church Order in bk. viii. was composed, by a single writer in the latter half of the fourth century. The indications of date come from the book itself, as we must dismiss the idea that Epiphanius quotes AC; he is really quoting a form of Didasc older than AC. That the book is a uniform whole, by a writer who first interpolated Didasc (i.—vi.), then D (vii. 1—32), and added some liturgical matter (vii. 33—end), a treatise *On Gifts* (viii. 1, 2), and a form of our Church Order (viii. 3—end), is seen by an examination of the phraseology, style, and other characteristics; see the careful summary in Brightman *LEW* p. xxiv ff. The date of AC is determined very closely by the festal cycle (see above, p. 129 f.). This would have merely given us a *terminus a quo*, but for the obvious fact that the AC writer is endeavouring to lead the way in separating Epiphany and Christmas and in developing the cycle; and therefore we are brought to a date as early in the last quarter of the century as possible, say c. A.D. 375. That the work is post-Constantinian is seen e.g. by vi. 24<sup>1</sup>, which speaks of the conversion of the Roman Empire, and in which the reference to the

Romans is in striking contrast to that in || *Didasc* (*DidCA* i. 364). It is generally agreed that AC was written in Syria; the Syro-Macedonian calendar is used in v. 14<sup>1</sup>, 17<sup>3</sup>, 20<sup>3</sup>, where the months Xanthicus, Dystros, Gorpiaeus are named (not in || *Didasc*). The fact that Holy Week is not included in the Forty Days (p. 137 above) excludes Palestine, Egypt and the West. For other indications see *LEW* p. xxviii. But the absence of metropolitans suggests that neither Antioch itself nor its immediate neighbourhood was the home of the writer (above, p. 72 f.).

The forms of Church Order in SEC 63—78 and *EthS* 49—72, which are no doubt derived from AC (or from an earlier draft of AC), may only date from the time of those compilations. We cannot get very near to the date, but they may have been composed at any time in the fifth century, perhaps early in the century.

#### 4. **Relation of the Constitutions through Hippolytus to the Apostolic Constitutions.**

These two documents are very closely related, whether they are the work of the same author or not. The question arises as to which document has priority. Is *ConstH* the original, or an epitome, of AC?

We must first notice that in both documents the sections are divided among the Apostles, and that both enumerate fourteen as being present, the Twelve, St Paul and St James (AC viii. 4<sup>1</sup>, *ConstH* 3). But in *ConstH*, of the fourteen only ten have sections assigned to them, while in AC all fourteen

have sections, and the four omitted in ConstH have in AC those sections assigned to them which ConstH has not got. Moreover in AC viii. 29 Matthias has assigned to him the section about oil and water (which is not in ConstH) as well as viii. 30: 'I the same....' But ConstH 20 (which corresponds to AC viii. 30) is assigned to Simon the Cananaean (to whom both works assign the sections preceding that about oil and water). It begins 'I, the same Simon the Cananaean command....' Thus it appears that ConstH is an excerpt of a work in which all fourteen Apostles had sections assigned to them. Of what work is it an excerpt?

The simplest solution is undoubtedly that of Funk, who holds that ConstH is an epitome of AC viii. (*DidCA* ii. p. xiv ff. *TUH* 179 ff.). Funk considers that a writer other than the AC compiler shortened that work by omitting the liturgical matter, abbreviating the bishop's and presbyter's ordination prayer, and so forth, and corrected what he did not approve of, such as the ordination of a reader with laying on of hands. He holds also that one or two phrases in ConstH show posteriority.

The problem, however, is far from easy. The careful attention of the reader is asked for what is said above (pp. 74—80) about the development of the ordination prayer for a bishop, and the ordination of minor orders by imposition of hands. Funk's idea of successive writers becoming more antiquarian and producing simpler forms as time went on is hardly credible. If the ConstH writer was a corrector of

AC, and did not approve of what seems to have been an invention of the latter, *i.e.* the ordination to some of the minor orders by laying on of hands, why did he not cut it out altogether as the || SEC 66 and EthS 54 (see above p. 23) have done? Why did he only forbid it in the case of readers, and leave it for subdeacons and deaconesses? Is it not much more probable that the AC compiler was gradually feeling his way? At first he prescribes the laying on of hands in the ordination of subdeacons and deaconesses, as these offices might be supposed to be derived from the diaconate, but he does not yet (in ConstH or its original) venture so far in the case of the old charismatic office of the reader. Then, later, he goes to the logical conclusion of ordaining readers in the same way. Funk seems to have overlooked the fact that the ordination to minor orders with imposition of hands is not found before AC, and to all appearance was the invention of the AC compiler. The invention did not find favour at first, at any rate in Egypt, as we see in SEC and EthS. The fact, then, of the ordination conditions being simpler in ConstH than in AC (and simpler still in EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>, and, as far as minor orders go, in Test) makes Funk's solution of the relation between ConstH and AC an improbable one.

Let us, however, consider the points of phraseology which are thought to indicate posteriority in ConstH. (a) In § 1<sup>o</sup> we read of believing 'through Christ our God on him and on his undefiled Father and the all holy and life-giving Spirit,' while in || AC viii. 1<sup>o</sup> we have simply

‘through Christ on God.’ The AC phrase is said to indicate a ‘more ancient doctrine of the Trinity’ and the same is said of the subsection which follows. It is not very easy to see the force of this. When the documents confessedly do not date from before the last quarter of the fourth century, we are not helped to decide on a question of priority by the presence in one or the other of an older phraseology on this subject. In this case the probability is rather the reverse of what Funk supposes. The AC writer, a pronounced subordinationist, probably altered the phrase which he had at first written (as we read it in ConstH) so as not to name the Son first (cf. above, p. 118); and if he is the same as Pseudo-Ignatius we must remember that his semi-Arian tendencies increased as time went on (p. 124), for the interpolated Ignatian Epistles are certainly later than AC (Lightfoot, *Ignatius* i. 263 f.). (b) The phrase in the bishop’s ordination prayer about the Spirit given to or through Jesus and to the Apostles (above, p. 75) is thought to show the priority of AC over ConstH. This does not follow. And if it did follow, H<sub>3</sub> and Test would be, equally with AC (with which they here agree), older than ConstH; which supposition (though probably quite true) would upset Funk’s theory of their relationship. (c) In the matter of the reader ConstH is said to show signs of being a correction of AC. We have already discussed whether the provision of ConstH or that of AC about the reader is likely to have been the older, and have seen reason for assigning the priority to ConstH. But Funk says that the wording itself shows the posteriority of ConstH. That manual omits, at the section in question, the name of the Apostle who gives the command; AC inserts it; this, however, we need not consider, as we have already reached the result that ConstH is an excerpt from a work which had the full complement of Apostolic ascriptions. But whereas the preceding and following sections of ConstH use *χειροτομία*, *χειροτονεῖν*,

this section has οὐδὲ γὰρ χειροθεεῖται—those about confessors, virgins, widows have οὐ χειροτονεῖται—and this may be thought to show that the ConstH section about a reader is a correction. AC itself uses χειροτονία, χειροτονεῖν in all these sections *except in those about deaconesses and readers*, where neither χειροτονεῖν nor χειροθεεῖν, nor their substantives, are used. The conclusion that because ConstH uses χειροθεεῖν in the section about the reader, therefore it is a correction of AC, is an insecure one. The fact is that AC uses χειροθεεῖν of laying on of hands in general; when the laying on of hands is emphasised, χειροθεεῖν is used; when ordination as a whole rite is spoken of, AC uses χειροτονεῖν. Both ConstH and AC therefore say that an exorcist or a confessor or a virgin or a widow 'is not ordained' (οὐ χειροτονεῖται)—they are not set apart by any office which could be called ordination, because their position was still entirely a charismatic one; but a reader, like a subdeacon, is in this sense 'ordained,' though he is not in ConstH, as he is in AC, ordained with laying on of hands. Therefore ConstH uses χειροθεεῖν here. It would not be quite true, or at least it would be ambiguous and inconsistent with AC usage, to say of a reader οὐ χειροτονεῖται; it is true of him, in ConstH, to say οὐ χειροθεεῖται (see appended note below).

The indications, then, point in the opinion of the present writer to the priority of ConstH over AC. But as the former is certainly an excerpt from a document which named all the fourteen Apostles, the solution which perhaps is the most probable is that once propounded by Harnack, that ConstH is a shortened form of an original draft of AC viii.



## APPENDED NOTE ON χειροτονία, χειροθεσία IN AC.

The word χειροθεσία (or χειροθετεῖν) is used in AC for the various impositions of hands, or even (probably) where a hand is extended over the people as in a blessing. It seems to include both Confirmation and Ordination in iii. 10<sup>1</sup>: laymen are not to do 'any of the priestly works such as the sacrifice (θυσία, the Eucharist) or baptism, or laying on of hands (χειροθεσία), or blessing (εὐλογία), great or small; for no one takes this honour to himself unless he be called of God, for by the laying on of the bishop's hands (διὰ γὰρ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου) such an office (ἀξία) is given.' It is used of Confirmation in ii. 32<sup>3</sup>, iii. 16<sup>3</sup>, vii. 44<sup>3</sup>, and apparently in viii. 28<sup>2f</sup>. (ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογεῖ...χειροθετεῖ, χειροτονεῖ...πρεσβύτερος εὐλογεῖ...χειροθετεῖ, οὐ χειροτονεῖ); so ConstH 19, except that the first χειροθετεῖ is omitted; in the last passage a presbyter is perhaps allowed to lay on hands in Confirmation, doubtless only in the absence of the bishop, see above, p. 107 f. It is used of the dismissal of catechumens with a blessing in vii. 39<sup>4</sup>; of the reception of penitents (ii. 18<sup>7</sup>, 41<sup>2</sup>, 43<sup>1</sup>); and of blessing in general (viii. 37<sup>4</sup>, 39<sup>1</sup>).

χειροτονία (or χειροτονεῖν) is used in AC for Christian ordination to all grades; thus, in AC iii. 11<sup>3</sup> it is used of all minor orders, including singers and doorkeepers, who in AC are not ordained with laying on of hands (cf. also iii. 20<sup>2</sup>). It is also used in ii. 27<sup>5</sup> of the 'ordination' of Aaron by God; in iii. 9<sup>3</sup> of heathen appointments of priestesses; in v. 20<sup>11</sup>, vii. 16 of God's 'ordaining' the Roman empire and the Roman emperor. It is true that elsewhere than in AC χειροτονεῖν is used when laying on of hands is emphasised, as in SEC-sah 66, which says that 'it is not right to ordain (khirodonei) subdeacons, readers and deaconesses,' but this is not the case in AC.

As we have already seen (p. 78 above), κατάστασις is used of appointments to any grade of the ministry.



5. **Date of the Canons of Hippolytus.** It is in the case of this book that the widest difference of opinion exists. Achelis, who believes that it was written by Hippolytus himself, necessarily dates it very early, *c.* A.D. 220; but he considers that it has been considerably interpolated. Morin assigns it to Dionysius of Alexandria and identifies it with the 'diaconal' epistle 'sent to those in Rome through Hippolytus' (*c.* A.D. 250; Euseb. *HE* vi. 46). Funk, on the other hand, holds this Church Order to have been derived (through ConstH and EgCO) from AC viii. and takes the alleged interpolations to be part of the text. Harnack has lately given his adherence to this view, with some considerable modifications. Funk inclines to a date in the sixth century.

There are many indications in CH of an early date (Achelis, *Die Can. Hipp.* p. 217 ff.). Although persecutions were not going on at the time of writing—for there are no penalties for the lapsed, and the section about teachers (xii. 69 f.; see above, p. 116) would not be possible in times of persecution—yet it was probable that persecution would revive (vi. 43—47). The traces of close relationship between bishop and presbyter (p. 69 f.) betray a date earlier than that of the Church Orders which have a separate prayer for ordaining bishops and presbyters; the simple nature of the ordination prayer (p. 75 f.), the fact that there is no fixed day but Sunday for the Eucharist (p. 55 ff.), the arrangement that Easter is to be kept at the same time as the Jews' Passover, and the simplicity of the festal cycle, all tend to show an early

date. Some of Achelis' indications will hardly command assent, such as the fact that charismata are still held in the highest honour; for the other manuals have the same phraseology. Achelis is on firm ground when he points out the great similarity between CH and Tertullian in fasts, in baptismal ceremonial, in rules about virgins' veils, about soldiers, and about care for the Eucharistic elements; but this need prove no more, in view of similar regulations being found in other Church Orders, than that the customs of the lost Original closely agreed with those mentioned by Tertullian. Achelis thinks that Egypt is excluded as a place of writing of CH by the fact that Agape and Eucharist are already separated, each with a ceremonial of its own, whereas in Clement of Alexandria they are still joined [but it is doubtful if this was the case, see *ERE* i. 170]. This, however, is a two-edged argument. If the rest of CH inclines us to assign it to Egypt, then the separation of Agape and Eucharist would lead us to a date later than Clement.

On the other hand there are indications of a later date: *e.g.* the passages referring to the 'equal Trinity' (i. 2, xix. 133), to subdeacons (vii. 49, 52, xxi. 217), to the forty days' fast of Lent and to the Holy Week fast (xx. 154, xxii. 195 ff.), and the *Filioque*\* in the Baptismal Creed (xix. 131). Most

\* The *Filioque* as part of the Nicene Creed is found first at the Third Council of Toledo (A.D. 589) which introduced the Creed into the Eucharistic Liturgy of the West. But Western writers after Augustine had spoken of the procession from the Son.

of these are considered by Achelis to be interpolations; Funk on the other hand considers them necessary to the text and ineradicable, and Harnack agrees (*Chronologie* ii. 507). Certainly interpolations are probable in an Arabic translation; a parallel case is the Arabic translation of Test which constantly alters and interpolates. But there is much force in Funk's argument on this head (*TUH* p. 224 ff.), and it is hardly satisfactory to date a document from certain features of it and then to mark all that does not agree with that date as interpolation.

It has already been argued that CH is not the direct parent of the other Church Orders (above, p. 143). May not the truth be that we should look on the early features as survivals from the lost Original, provided we do not make CH so late that the early features have become mere antiquarianisms put in for effect (see above, p. 6)? On the other hand, it is a fatal defect in Funk's argument for a late date that CH would be absolutely useless as a manual at the time which he suggests. It would be merely a pseudo-historic curiosity, a farrago of false antiquarianisms. The existence of the parallel Church Orders forbids such a supposition. We must therefore reject Funk's late date, while we may nevertheless incline to the idea that almost all the alleged interpolations are part of the text. Yet some passages may remain as interpolations. Such, at least, must be the *Filioque* in the Creed—the very place where we should expect assimilation to a later writer's own usage. This is the only phrase in the

whole book which points to a date later than the middle of the fourth century. Putting together all these considerations, the first half of that century seems to be the most likely time of writing; the doctrinal position, the ordination conditions, the regulations for festivals and fasts, the existence of subdeacons, all point to a rather early year in the century. Nevertheless, it is probable that CH reproduces the lost Original more faithfully than any other of these manuals; and to this extent Achelis' theory may be held to be well founded.

In considering the place of writing, we must dismiss pre-suppositions of Hippolytean or Dionysian authorship, and take the book as it stands, while allowing for a very few possible interpolations. The internal evidence seems to point either to Rome or to Egypt. But in reality only one feature, the presence of the Roman Creed in the baptismal service, indicates Rome; and as the same creed is found in Test and H<sub>3</sub> (which are certainly Eastern) the only inference that can safely be drawn from its presence in CH, is that at an early date it made its way to the East. The other arguments adduced for a Western origin (as by Wordsworth, *MG* p. 22 ff.) apply to the Lost Church Order which is so faithfully reproduced by CH, rather than to CH itself. On the other hand, CH bears a great likeness to EgCO, EthCO, H<sub>3</sub>; to take only two examples among many, these four manuals agree in differing from the cognate Church Orders in saying nothing about clerical marriage or about deaconesses. These resemblances would point

to Egypt as the place of writing ; and this indication is to some extent confirmed by the existence of the forty days' fast in a writing probably compiled before A.D. 350, for it was in Egypt that the forty days' fast seems to have been first established (Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*. Eng. tr. p. 242). A stronger confirmation may be found in the administration of milk and honey in CH at Baptism, a custom for which there is no evidence outside Egypt and Africa (above, p. 46). If CH had been written in Rome we should have expected to find acolytes mentioned, for even in the third century there were forty-two of these officials there (above, p. 80). The form of the salutation before the Sursum Corda in the Liturgy ['The Lord be with (you) all'] points either to Rome or to Egypt (Cooper-Maclean, p. 169). On the whole, while the evidence is far from being conclusive, the most probable conclusion seems to be that CH was written in Egypt, though, since no metropolitan is mentioned (above, p. 72 f.), not in Alexandria. The influence of Alexandria may perhaps be seen in the retention by the CH writer (from the Lost Church Order) of the very archaic ordination conditions.

**6. Date of Egyptian and Ethiopic Church Orders and Verona Fragments, part 3.** These manuals may for this purpose be considered together. None of them can with any probability be dated before the fourth century. The emphasis on the 'equal Trinity' and the form of the doxologies (pp. 115, 125) would make an earlier date

very unlikely. But there are several indications that they are earlier in date than AC. The Liturgy in EthCO and H<sub>3</sub> is almost certainly more primitive than that in AC (above, p. 50 ff.); the absence of the Sanctus would be difficult to explain after the fourth century; the absence (unlike AC, Test) of any account of the church buildings would be natural early in that century. The ordination prayer for a bishop in AC, as well as that in Test, are almost certainly based on that in EthCO and H<sub>3</sub> or on something very like it (p. 77). On the other hand EgCO must probably be earlier than EthCO and H<sub>3</sub> if, as seems likely, it prescribes the same prayer to be used in ordaining a bishop and a presbyter (p. 70f.); and this consideration also points to its being earlier than Sar which (c. A.D. 350) has separate prayers. The doctrinal indications in all three manuals point to the first half of the fourth century (p. 114 f.). The Macedonian heresy seems not yet to have broken out. That the Arian heresy had arisen is shown by the phrases about the Holy Trinity; but the writers do not seem to have occupied themselves much with the controversy. We may probably assign these three manuals, or rather their Greek originals, to the first half of the fourth century, perhaps rather early in that period. Their home was, doubtless, Egypt.

Funk (*DidCA* ii. p. xxi, *TUH* 132 ff.) gives two indications of a date later than AC. (a) In the section about the appointment and ordination of a bishop, EgCO and EthCO begin with 'as we have before said.' Funk thinks that these words are derived from AC viii. 4<sup>2</sup> and



refer to the foregoing books of AC, thus showing that EgCO and EthCO are later than AC. But this argument is not sound. The words are not in H<sub>3</sub>; they seem therefore to have been no part of the original EgCO, but to be due to the compiler of SEC (who has been followed here, as often, by EthS), and to refer to ApCO, which immediately precedes in that compilation. If Funk's argument shows anything, it is that the compilers of SEC and EthS lived after the AC writer, which no one doubts. (b) H<sub>3</sub> has a prologue, *i.e.* a section between ApCO and the Church Order which follows it; and the prologue begins by referring to a tract *Of Gifts*. No such tract precedes in H, but one so named does precede AC viii. 3, which also refers to it. Funk's deduction is that H<sub>3</sub> is later than and derived from AC, and that its prologue is derived from AC viii. 3\*. But there are other facts about the prologue which show that the problem is not nearly so simple as Funk thinks. The prologue and AC viii. 3 nearly agree in the first sentence ('we have now finished the first part of the discourse concerning gifts, whatever they be, which God has bestowed upon man according to his will,' AC)†. But after this sentence they are quite independent. Again, the H prologue reappears, in nearly but not quite identical terms throughout, in the interpolated EthS 40 A (p. 21) in quite another connexion. In both these two forms the paragraph is confused (especially in H<sub>3</sub>) and neither could well have come directly from the other. In these two forms the language used has a much older flavour than that of AC viii. 3, and it is not easy to think of them as deriving their first sentence from AC and then proceeding on their own lines. Again,

\* This section is not in ConstH, but reappears in SEC 63 and EthS 52 (much altered).

† H: Ea quidem quae uerba fuerunt, digne posuimus de donationibus, quanta quidem Deus a principio secundum propriam uoluntatem praestitit hominibus....



the prologue is not found in EgCO or EthCO (the interpolated EthS 40 A is no part of EthCO), and if, as Funk says, it is 'not doubtful' that it formed originally a part of the Egyptian law book, it is hard to see why all trace of it (not only of the first sentence) has vanished from EgCO and EthCO, which begin, without preface, immediately after ApCO in the compilations where they are found (SEC, EthS). The solution of this small but puzzling problem which the present writer would offer has already been hinted at. The prologues in H<sub>3</sub> and in EthS 40 A clearly had a common ancestor; this seems to have become corrupted at an early date, and so it has reached us in two confused forms. One is tempted, then, to think that the Lost Church Order, which as we have already seen reason to suppose, was perhaps added on to the Hippolytean treatise *περὶ χαρισμάτων* (p. 148), had a preface, of which the prologues of H<sub>3</sub> and EthS 40 A are corrupt versions, and which gave the idea for AC viii. 3.

Here the prologue has been spoken of as an original part of H<sub>3</sub>. We must always bear in mind another possibility, that the author of the Church Order (H<sub>3</sub>) is not the same as the compiler of the whole of the Verona fragments, and that the prologue in question is due to the compiler. In that case the prologue would give us no indication of date for H<sub>3</sub>.

### 7. Date of the Testament of our Lord.

Here, again, we have great difference of opinion; Rahmani, the first editor, assigned it to the time of Irenaeus; Zahn gives *c.* 350, Wordsworth and Harnack *c.* 400 (Harnack would now place it later), Funk *c.* 475.

That this Church Order cannot be dated before the fourth century appears from the existence of subdeacons in it (for it is an Eastern manual), from

'the forty days of Pascha' (p. 132), the elaborate church buildings (p. 36), the appointment of Saturday for public service (p. 57), the doctrinal tone (p. 117 ff.), the elaboration of the Liturgy, and the steps taken towards a (not yet existing) daily public service for all men (p. 59). See, further, Funk (*TUH* p. 62 ff.), who refutes Rahmani at length. On the other hand, marks of ante-Nicene date, such as the mention of persecution, and the relics of the ancient position of the reader still found in *Test*, can be well accounted for as having been taken from older materials; they fulfil the conditions suggested on p. 6 as not contradicting contemporary usage, and as not being mere antiquarianisms.

There are many positive marks of date. The doctrinal indications suggest a date before the secession of Apollinaris from the Church in A.D. 375, even before the outbreak of the Macedonian heresy (p. 119 f.); the prevalent form of doxology points to a date a good deal earlier than the end of the century, if we remember the standpoint of the writer (p. 127). The less developed prayers, especially in the Liturgy (p. 49 f.), suggest that *Test* is earlier than AC, as do the restriction of laying on of hands in ordination to the three highest orders (p. 78) and the festal cycle (p. 128). Funk remarks (*TUH* p. 82 f.) that the simple festal cycle in *Test* only means that it and AC were not written in the same place, since we find in 'Silvia' that Christmas and Epiphany were still one at Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century. That is so; but even making every allowance for the

AC writer having desired to extend the festal cycle, it is difficult to conceive that the very simple cycle of Test (Easter, Pentecost, Epiphany) was that used in any country where the manual is likely to have been written, even at the beginning, much less at the end, of the fifth century. The absence of metropolitans would be very unlikely in that century (p. 72 f.). The supposed mention of an archdeacon has been alleged (Wordsworth, *MG* 32, 162 *n*) as forbidding us to date this Church Order before A.D. 400. But the Syriac suggests that the name ἀρχιδιάκονος was not used in the Greek original (p. 72), and in any case there is no mention of such an official as holding a distinct rank; the 'chief deacon' is merely one of the deacons told off for two special tasks, neither of them in the Church services. This feature really points to a date a good deal before A.D. 400. So also does the mention of a 'stole' worn by him (p. 65). Singers in Test are not yet a class or order, as in AC and at Laodicea (p. 82). The widows προκαθήμεναι are represented as being at the height of their popularity; at the time of the Laodicean council they were dying out (p. 84). The absence of monasticism and of penitential 'stations' requires some consideration. The latter gives us no certain indication (p. 94); the former points to a date before the end of the fourth century. In the latter half of the century many monastic communities were founded and were enthusiastically received. In so strict a writer as the compiler of Test we should certainly expect a reference to them if he wrote in

the fifth century. The only ascetics mentioned are the 'virgins, male and female,' who are expressly described in i. 46 as individuals, helping on the work of the Church, but clearly not living in community.

On the other hand we have seen in the preceding chapters that Test is derived, at least in part, from a Greek manual very like H<sub>3</sub>. We shall therefore probably be approximately right if we ascribe this Church Order to a date about A.D. 350.

The country of the writer had a sea coast (i. 34) and was well watered, there being no reference, as in EgCO, to scarcity of water for the font (ii. 8); there are no interpreters, no milk and honey at baptism, no stated Wednesday and Friday fasts. It was probably therefore not Egypt, though the Liturgy is derived from an Egyptian source. The great dissimilarity between Test and AC makes Syria unlikely; and perhaps, if we take into account the Montanist influence and the position of women, we are within the bounds of probability if we fix on Asia Minor as its home.

*Note.* In the foregoing nothing has been said about the apocalyptic prelude of Test (i. 2—14a), which describes the signs to be expected before the end of the world and the coming of Antichrist, because it is quite uncertain if it was composed by the compiler of Test, or if it was an already existing tract merely prefixed by him to his work. Thus a mark of early date in the prelude is not necessarily a mark of early date in Test. A mark of late date in the prelude would, however, point to a late date for Test. There is some trace of its having had once an independent existence; at any rate we have an independent Syriac

translation of it (*JThSt* ii. 401, Arendzen). A shorter form of it exists, which ends with 'Dexius shall be the name of Antichrist,' and Harnack suggests that this is a disguise for Decius, and that the shorter form dates from the Decian persecution. Some considerations, however, point to the shorter form being an excerpt from the longer. In any case it is doubtful if the prelude is by the Test compiler; it has some of the favourite expressions of Test, but on the other hand it has some striking differences of style. Then there are in Test chapters introducing the prelude (i. 1) and joining it on to the Church Order (i. 14b—18), which have the appearance of having been added by a hand other than that of the writer of the prelude, and which show marked differences of style as compared with the prelude. It seems therefore probable that the Test compiler took an already existing tract on the End (from which he perhaps got the idea of ascribing his book to our Lord), and incorporated it in his manual (see, further, Cooper-Maclean p. 141 ff.). The prelude shows no sign of a post-Nicene date, certainly not of a date later than the fourth century. It has therefore no certain bearing either on the place or on the time of writing of Test.—The connecting chapter i. 16 has a mark of the influence of ApCO on Test. In the former Martha and Mary are mentioned, and some slight is thrown on the ministry of women. In Test (where the bias is all the other way) Martha and Mary *and Salome* are introduced, and not only is the slight removed, but the opportunity is taken to include women among 'all those who minister in' the 'Church' (i. 15).

**8. Date of the Appendix to the Arabic Didascalia.** It is clear that ArD-app is derived from Test, or else that Test is derived from it. But several minute points show the priority of Test.

Thus for example, (a) in the ordination prayer for a bishop ArD corrects the name *καρδιογνώστης* applied to the Father in Test (as in || CH, H<sub>3</sub>, EthCO, ConstH), conscious that in Acts i. 24, which is here referred to, it is applied to our Lord, as it is applied in H<sub>1</sub> p. 48, AC ii 24<sup>6</sup>, iii. 7<sup>8</sup>. The corrected phrase in ArD 36<sup>18</sup> is 'O God who triest the hearts and reins.' (b) In ArD 37 the fiction of Test i. 22 ('I have said unto you') is removed by reading '*The Lord* hath said'; here also the 'presbyters' are clearly an addition of ArD (above, p. 22). (c) ArD 38 has altered a difficult allusion in Test to the 'eighteen entrances' of our Lord *to the Passion*, which are connected with the bishop's three weeks' fast (six days a week), not understanding the reference, and has, not very happily, substituted three 'entrances,' death, *resurrection*, and *ascension*, as connected with the bishop's fast three days a week. Here Test apparently makes an allusion to which his readers had the key, though we have not; the ArD writer did not understand it, and made the best sense he could. His insertion in this section of the Wednesday and Friday fast is another sign of his being later than Test (above, p. 138 f.). (d) ArD 38<sup>18</sup> developes the Liturgy (which it only describes) by the addition of incense; here also the *presbyter*, instead of the deacon, brings in the Eucharistic elements (p. 44). (e) The Mystagogia is on the whole shorter in ArD 39 than in Test. This seems to be chiefly because the former writer has removed the quasi-'Apollinarian' phrases of the latter. On the other hand the address of Death is slightly longer in ArD. The long concluding thanksgiving in Test (spoken by our Lord) could hardly have been deduced from the short phrase in ArD: 'I thank thee, O King, with the word (sermone) with which all creation has been created by thee. This is the word (uerbum) which is in us through the Spirit, who speaks with thee only.' See also p. 37.



These and other considerations lead us to consider these chapters of ArD as derived from Test. As Funk is of opinion that the unpublished part of ArD is derived from AC, the probability is that the ArD compiler (or a later writer) added on to his form of the Didascalia this fragmentary Church Order, adapted from Test, soon after A.D. 400. For the probability of some of these additional chapters being found in EthD, see above, p. 22.

**9. Date of the Didache.** The early date of this manual is seen from the undeveloped nature of the Liturgy and of the Church Organisation (above, pp. 62, 67), and also from the absence of references to Montanism (though Dr Bigg denied this last statement\*). This will fix D before A.D. 157. Harnack thinks that D quotes 'Barnabas,' which he dates c. A.D. 130. But the dependence on 'Barnabas' and the date of that epistle are alike doubtful. Other writers are inclined to place D even earlier, at the beginning of the second, or at the end of the first, century. It is probable that it is the product of some remote district, perhaps of Syria, apart from the ordinary stream of Church life.—This Church Order has been so often edited and commented on that it is here dealt with very briefly. Those who desire more information about it may be referred to the editions of C. Taylor (1886) and Harnack (1884), to Harnack's

\* Dr Bigg stands almost alone in assigning D to the fourth century.



discussion in his *Chronologie* (1897), and to Dr Salmon's article on the subject in *DCB*.

10. **Date of the Didascalia.** It is a little difficult to determine this, because it is not certain that even the oldest form of it which we possess (the Syriac) is the original.  $H_1$  is probably interpolated, if only in a slight degree. We must certainly dismiss Bickell's idea that *Didasc-syr* is an abridgment of, and therefore later than, *AC i.—vi*. Parallel passages constantly show *AC* as describing later, never as giving earlier, customs; some examples may be seen at p. 31 f. The points which we may consider in arriving at the date are these. The arrangement of a Christian assembly is described, but not elaborate church buildings; only Sunday assemblies are mentioned. Pascha is to be determined by following the Jewish computation; a Holy Week fast is described. Harnack at one time considered that the work was anti-Novatianist (see above, p. 114), and assigned it to the last half of the third century; Wordsworth (and now Harnack also agrees with him) places it in the first half of that century (*MG* p. 39), but Harnack thinks that the sections about clemency to sinners are interpolated. Funk (*DidCA* i. p. iv f.) and Achelis agree with Harnack's earlier view. Thus, while the exact date is quite uncertain, we can only be on safe ground if we date the work some time in the third century. The Holy Week fast may perhaps incline us to the later date. Its original country is doubtful; perhaps Syria.

**11. Date of the Apostolic Church Order.**

This manual has some extremely ancient features, such as the position of the reader above the deacon in § 19, though not in § 1 (see p. 86). As § 22 is to some extent a repetition of the direction of § 20 (on deacons), Harnack suggests (*SApC* p. 7 ff., and in his edition of *D*, p. 212 ff.) that §§ 16—28 consist of two very early law books, each of the second century; these he calls 'Source A' and 'Source B.' He ascribed the Church Order itself to c. A.D. 300; but now with Funk, he is inclined to put it a little later (*DidCA* ii. p. xliv). In § 1 we find the word 'eparchy' which in the sense of an ecclesiastical province is not found before Eusebius; but there is nothing to show that the writer is referring to ecclesiastical rather than civil divisions. Subdeacons are not mentioned. This Church Order perhaps comes from Asia Minor (above, p. 26).

**12. Date of the Edessene Canons.** The reference in can. 25 to Christian Emperors shows that this work is post-Nicene. But it does not seem to have been written long after the conversion of the Empire, and may perhaps be ascribed to the second or third quarter of the fourth century. It came from Edessa.

**13. Date of the Apostolic Canons.** Several of these canons are taken from those of the Council of Antioch in *Encaen.*, A.D. 341; this therefore is the earliest possible date. Whether compiled by

the AC writer or not, they are closely connected with AC, and we may probably therefore assign them to the last quarter of the fourth century or to the beginning of the fifth, and believe that they were written in Syria.

### SUMMARY

It will be convenient to sum up the results which have been tentatively reached in this volume. Reasons have been given for thinking that a large number of the Church Orders are descended from a single Original, now lost, and that this may even have been the work of Hippolytus. The extant Church Orders seem not to be all in one line of tradition. Neither the Canons of Hippolytus nor the Apostolic Constitutions can with much probability be considered as the parent of the rest. With regard to the former, a date early in the fourth century is here suggested for the work as we now have it, excepting only one or two trifling interpolations; the theory of a largely interpolated work of the era of Hippolytus now appears to the present writer to be as little tenable as that of a late composition of the sixth century. Yet the Canons probably reproduce several primitive features of the lost Original with great fidelity. It is suggested that most of the extant Church Orders here placed in the first division, or rather their Greek originals, date from the fourth century; the Canons of Hippolytus, and the three forms of the Church Order of Egypt ('Egyptian,'

‘Ethiopic’ and ‘Verona fragments’) having been probably compiled early in the century, the Testament of our Lord about the middle, and the Apostolic Constitutions towards the end of it. The compilations in which most of these Church Orders are found may, at least in some cases, be a good deal later.

We have now come to the end of the task proposed in the first chapter of this book. The contents of the Church Orders have been considered from various points of view, and conclusions have been drawn as to their date and home. With regard to these, it will doubtless be disappointing to some that there is a certain amount of uncertainty about the results arrived at. But it is better to speak cautiously than to be over-positive, when, by the nature of the case, it can only be a question between what is more probable and what is less probable. The result of the investigation which does appear to be certain is that this whole class of literature is an important one, and cannot safely be neglected. It is hoped that the present volume may at least point out to the English student the value of the Church Orders, and the best method of studying them.

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## INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

[*See also Table of Contents, p. ix.*]

- Acolytes 80, 160  
 Addai 4  
 Administration of Holy Communion 43 f., 46 f.  
 Agape 18 f., 62-64, 86, 157  
 Almsgiving 18 f., 64, 113  
 Altar 36  
 Amen of Communicants 42  
 Anointing at baptism 16-19, 99 f., 105-108  
 Antiquarianisms 4-7, 158  
 Aphthartodoceticism 120  
 Apollinarianism 119 f., 123, 168  
 Apostles' festivals 129 f.  
 'Apostles' in Didache 25, 67 f.  
 Apostolic fiction 3 f., 26, 28, 150 f.  
 Archdeacon 72, 165  
 Arianism 115 f., 118, 123, 126 f., 161  
 Ascension (festival) 129  
 Ascetics, 166. See Virgins  
 Baptism 16 f., 96-111; formula of 25, 104, 112; season of 96; by deacons, laymen and women 110; into Christ's death 123; of Christ 129; of infants 98 f. See also Fasts  
 Baptistery 36 f., 97  
 Bathing before baptism 16 f., 97  
 Benedicite 60 f.  
 Benediction, of oil etc. 14 f., 16 f., 21, 33, 39, 41, 43, 97 f.; of the font 21, 98  
 Benedictus qui venit 41  
 Bishop, election and consecration of 14 f., 70 f., 73-78; visiting the sick 18 f.; relation to presbyters 69 f.; sometimes unlearned 86  
 Bread, Eucharistic 47; of blessing and exorcism, see Eulogiae  
 Burial of the dead 20 f., 33, 64  
 Catechumenate 16 f., 140  
 Catechumens, dismissal of 16 f., 39 f., 54, 95, 155; not at Agape and Eucharist 18 f., 63; house of 36  
 Celibacy, see Marriage  
 Chair of Hippolytus 148  
 Charismata 16 f., 42, 80, 87, 109, 152; the treatise 'Of Charismata' 21, 30, 148 f., 162 f.  
 Chief deacon, see Archdeacon  
 Chorepiscopi 72

- Chrism, see Anointing  
 Christmas 129, 149, 164. See also Epiphany  
 Church buildings 35-37  
 Clement 4, 32  
 Clementine literature 5, 113; date of 91  
 Cleobius 113  
 'Commemoration' (Litany) 87  
 Communion of clergy and people 41 f.  
 Communion, first 18 f., 46, 109  
 Competentes 16 f., 97  
 Compilations, list of, 8  
 Confessors, 14 f., 87-90, 154  
 Confirmation 18 f., 104-109; by presbyter (?) 107 f., 155  
 Confusion of Persons in prayer 45, 119  
 Creed, 16 f., 65, 100-104, 157-159  
 Daily prayers 31, 40, 59 f., 164  
 Deaconesses 17, 36, 42, 44, 83-85, 152, 154, 159  
 Deacons, ordination of 14 f., 71 f.; number of 27, 80 f.; duties in church 35, 37; exercising discipline 94 f.; their claims repressed 49, 68 f.  
 Dedication festival 129 f.  
 Departed, commemoration of 18 f., 63 f.  
 Diaconicum 36  
 Digamy, see Monogamy  
 Diptychs 45  
 Discipline 94 f.  
 Doorkeepers 80, 82 f., 93, 155  
 East, prayer towards 35, 37; turning to at baptism 100  
 Easter 128 f., 165; date of 18, 33, 131 f., 156; baptism at 96 f.; Easter Even 29, 97, 132, 135; Easter Week 129  
 Ectene, see Litany  
 Eparchy 171  
 Epiclesis, see Invocation  
 Epiphany 96, 128-132, 149, 164 f.  
 Eucharist, description of 38 ff.; celebrant of 14, 46, 68; after baptism 46, 109 f.; days for 55-59  
 Eucharistic elements, care for 18 f.  
 Eucharistic Thanksgiving 25, 39 f., 50, 54  
 Eulogiae 18 f., 47 f., 64  
 Exorcism 16 f., 97  
 Exorcists 17, 80; house of 36  
 Experiments in liturgiology 7  
 Fans 44, 65  
 Fasts, before baptism 16 f., 28, 97, 133, 137 f.; before communion 18 f.; in Didache 133 f.; before Easter 18 f., 134-137, 140 (see Holy Week); weekly (Wed. Fri.) 18, 25, 28, 138 f., 168; special for bishops 139; forbidden on Sundays and in 'Pentecost' 140  
 Festal cycle 21, 31, 128-131, 164 f.  
 Filioque 101, 116, 142, 157 f.  
 Firstfruits 18 f., 28, 125  
 Font, hallowing of 16, 21, 98  
 Forbidden food 19, 28, 113, 124  
 Forbidden trades 16 f., 97  
 'Forty days,' as a solemn season 134 f.; as a fast 135-137, 157, 160; inexact use of the term 140  
 Fraction, at Eucharist 55  
 Funerals, see Burial of the dead  
 Gates in church 43  
 Genuflexion 38, 65

- Gifts, see Charismata  
 Gloria in excelsis 29, 41, 125  
 Good Friday 135  
 Guest house 36, 65  
 Guide (bishop) 68  
  
 High Priest (our Lord) 123;  
     (bishop) 31, 43, 67  
 Hippolytus, perhaps author  
     of 'Lost Church Order' 148  
 Holy Cross Day 130  
 Holy Spirit, doctrine of 114-  
     119, 122. See Invocation  
 Holy Week 135-137, 157, 170  
 Hosanna 41  
  
 Ignatian Epistles, Interpolator  
     of 124  
 Immersion, trine, at baptism  
     104  
 Incense 44, 65, 168  
 Infant baptism 98 f.; com-  
     munion 42  
 Instruction 39 f., 59 f., 86 f.  
 Intercession, Eucharistic 40,  
     45, 49, 52, 55, 65  
 Interpreters 82  
 Invocation, at Eucharist 39-  
     41, 43-45, 49, 51-55, 66; at  
     Confirmation 106 f.  
  
 James, St (festival) 130  
 John, St (festival) 130  
 Jews' Passover, 18, 131 f., 156  
  
 Kiss of peace 18 f., 39 f., 54,  
     108 f.  
 Kneeling 38, 140  
  
 Lamplighting, prayer at the  
     18 f., 60, 120, 126  
 Lavabo 40  
 Laying on of hands 14-19, 74,  
     78 f., 152, 154 f., 164; at  
     Confirmation 108  
 Lectern 36 f.  
  
 Lessons 37, 39 f., 42, 60, 87,  
     109  
 Lent, see Pascha and Forty  
     Days  
 Levites 31 f., 48  
 Light, children of the 118  
 Lights 36 f., 65  
 Litany 38-41, 54, 66, 87  
 Logos, Invocation of 54  
 Lord's prayer 25, 42, 45  
 Lord's Supper (Agape) 63  
  
 Macedonian controversy 114,  
     117, 119, 126, 161  
 Marriage, of clergy 13, 16, 31,  
     90-93, 159; of the laity 92 f.,  
     124; solemnization of 59  
 Martyrs' festivals 129 f.  
 Maundy Thursday 58, 132  
 Memorial feasts 19, 63  
 Metropolitans 72 f., 150, 160,  
     165  
 Military service, see Soldiers  
 Milk and honey 18 f., 46, 160,  
     166  
 'Minister' (subdeacon) 81  
 Minor Orders 14-17, 78-87,  
     89 f., 93, 151-155, 159 f.,  
     165, 171; in Sarapion 33, 54  
 Mishna 113  
 Monasticism 165 f.  
 Monogamy 84, 91-93  
 Monophysites 79 f., 120  
 Montanism 94, 112-114, 117 f.,  
     131, 136, 169  
 Mystagogia 22 f., 40, 120, 168  
  
 Natales 130  
 Nestorians 79 f., 109, 120 f.  
 Novatianism 114, 170  
 Number of clergy 80 f.  
 Nunc Dimittis 29, 60  
  
 Oblation 36, 39 f., 48 f., 54  
 Octaves 129  
 'Offer,' to 48 f.

- Offertory 39f., 54  
 Oil, see Anointing, Benediction  
 Orientation of churches 37  
  
 Palm Sunday 129  
 Paraclete 116 f., 122 f.  
 Pascha 18f., 33, 96 f.; meaning of 132. See Easter  
 Passion and Resurrection observed on same day 135 f.  
 Penitents, reception of 155. See Stations  
 Pentecost 19, 96, 129, 165; meaning of 132 f.  
 Persecution 7, 21, 87 f., 164  
 Personification of Divine attributes 119  
 Persons, order of 118, 153; confusion of 119  
 Peter and Paul, SS. (festival) 130  
 Pomp 98, 100  
 Porticoes 35 f.  
 Prayer, hours of 20 f., 59-62  
 Prayer meeting 20 f.  
 Prayers to the Son 118; to the Trinity 119  
 Presbyteresses 17, 83-85, 118  
 Presbyters, ordination of 14 f., 69-71, 77 f.; number of 27, 80 f.; seats of, in church 27, 35-37; relation to bishops 69 f.; cannot ordain 69 f.; married and travelling 16, 143  
 Presentation of Christ in the Temple 129  
 Promotion of clergy 89 f.  
 Prophetesses 118  
 Prophets in Didache 25, 67, 112  
 Psalmody 19, 40, 44  
 Pseudonymity of Church Orders 3 f., 26, 28, 150 f.  
  
 Quartodecimans 131, 136  
  
 Readers 14f., 27, 42, 54, 85-87, 90, 93, 151-155; number of 80 f., 87; female 85  
 Redditio symboli 100  
 Regions in Rome 81  
 Renunciations at baptism 16 f., 98  
 Reservation of Eucharist 56 f.  
 Resurrection, instruction in the 18 f., 110 f.  
 Roman Emperors, allusion to 28, 149, 155, 171  
  
 Sabbath 57  
 Sacrifice, the unbloody 48, 54  
 Sancta sanctis 40 f., 53  
 Sanctus 40, 45, 50, 54, 161  
 Saturday, a festival in the East 28 f., 57  
 Seal, the 108 f.  
 Secundatio 113  
 Severians 120  
 Shepherd (bishop) 68  
 Ship, the Church as a 36  
 Sick, communion of 20 f., 47  
 Sign of the cross 97, 108 f.  
 Simon Magus 113  
 Sin after baptism 31, 94  
 Singers 82, 93, 155, 165  
 Soldiers 97, 145 f.  
 Soul (human) of our Lord 123  
 Sponsors 98 f.  
 Standing, for prayer 38; for the Gospel 42  
 Stations 56 (days); 94, 165 (penitential)  
 Stephen, St (festival) 129 f.  
 Stole 65, 165  
 Subdeaconesses 85 n.  
 Subdeacons 14 f., 42, 80 f., 89, 93, 152, 171; number of 80 f.  
 Submission to God in baptism 16 f., 100-103  
 Subordinationism 118, 121 f., 153

- Sursum Corda and Salutation 39 f., 42, 50, 54, 160  
 Syro-Macedonian calendar 150  
 Thanksgiving after communion 41  
 Throne, episcopal 14 f., 36, 69  
 Tithes 28  
 Traditio symboli 100  
 Trinity, the name 115, 119; 'equal Trinity' 115 f., 157, 160  
 Veils, in churches 36, 44, 66; at baptism 36, 105; of women 27, 42  
 Vestments, at Eucharist 20, 64 f., 143; of chief deacon 65  
 Vigils 16 f., 18 f.  
 Virgins 16 f., 42, 154, 166  
 Voluntary death of our Lord 102, 114  
 Water, in chalice 144 f.; flowing, in baptism 104  
 Wednesday and Friday, see Fasts  
 Widows 41 f., 154, 165; appointment of 16 f.; alms and supper for 18 f., 63; inside the veil 44, 84; number of 80 f.; duties of 83, 105; silent in church 84  
 Witness of the Spirit 123  
 Women, ministry of 27, 105, 167. See also Veils  
 Word, the 115-117, 119 ff.  
 Words of our Lord at the Last Supper 40, 45  
 Xerophagies 136  
 ἀγέννητος 117  
 ἀνάδοχος 99  
 ἀναλαμβάνειν 99  
 ἀντιτάσσομαι 100  
 ἀρχιδιάκονος 72  
 ἀρχιερατεύειν 67  
 βαθμός 78  
 ἐπιδημία, -μείν 55, 117  
 εὐχαριστεῖν 62  
 ζωοποιός 119  
 ιερατικός 79  
 ιερουργία 71  
 ιερωσύνη 79  
 καθιστᾶν 78  
 καρδιογνώστης 168  
 κατάστασις 78, 155  
 κληρικός 79  
 λειτουργεῖν 48  
 παστοφóρια 35  
 προκαθήμεναι 83  
 προσφέρειν 48  
 στοά 36  
 συντάσσομαι 100, 102  
 τεσσαρακοστή 140  
 ὑπηρέτης, -σία 81  
 φιλανθρωπία 117  
 φωτιστήριον 37  
 χειροθεσία, -τεῖν 55, 78, 105, 153-155  
 χειροτονία, -νεῖν 78, 153-155

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